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CONTENTS

OF

THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CORRESPONDENCE, 1801.

1801. PAGE

Proceedings in Parliament, with reference to Ireland during the year 1801 1

Jan. 1. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt—State of the Catholic Question—Advantage of Catholic Assistance in carrying the Union—Abandonment of the measure for Emancipation of the Catholics 8

2. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Rejoicings on the completion of the Union—Refusal of Catholic Emancipation—Lord Conyngham . . . 13

2. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Completion of the Union —Cotton Trade—Prohibition of Distilling . . 14

5. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Crown Lawyers—Payment of Roman Catholic Clergy—Lord Proby . *ib.*

6. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Export of Wheat from Ireland—Famine resulting from failure of Potatoes . 15

7. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Succession to certain Offices in Ireland—Proposed appointment of Examinator of Excise 16

9. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Catholic Question—Test Laws—Vacant Offices . . 17

11. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Catholic Question—Oaths and Tests for Catholics returned to Parliament 18

14. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Catholic Question 20

22. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Same subject . 21

25. Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh—Irish College at Rome . . . . . . *ib.*

Enclosing:

Extract of Letter from the Rev. P. Macpherson, dated July 18th, 1800—Popularity of the Pope, Pius VII.—Austrian Occupation of Italy—The Cardinal of York 22

29. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Renewal of Martial-law Bill 23

1801. PAGE

Jan. 29. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Continuance of Martial-law in Ireland — Exchange on London—Sentiments expressed at Astley's 23

Feb. 2. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Catholic Emancipation—Scarcity—Restoration of Tranquillity . 24

3. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Tithe Bill—Removal of Mr. Pitt 25

5. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Tranquillity of Ireland —Mr. Pitt's continuance in office . . . 26

6. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—State of the Catholic question . . . . . *ib.*

6. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Concessions to Sectaries —Forgetfulness regarding Foreign Politics . 27

9. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh (Secret)—The Addington Administration—Necessity for Mr. Cooke's retirement from office—Question of Emancipation . . 28

9. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Wilberforce — Catholic Question — Irish Disaffection — Test Laws—Discontent in Dublin—Effects of Abolition of the Irish Parliament — Catholic Emancipation only needed to establish everlasting Tranquillity in Ireland 29

9. Considerations for the Catholics (with reference to their claims), on Mr. Pitt's retirement from office. By Lord Castlereagh 34

9. Lord Castlereagh to Lord Cornwallis—Sentiments and Intentions of Mr. Pitt regarding Emancipation — Loyal conduct urged upon the Catholics as the condition of Mr Pitt's support—Retirement of Lord Cornwallis . 38

11. Mr. Cooke to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Earl of Clare)—Deprecation of his Lordship's feeling towards Lord Castlereagh—Necessity for Emancipation—Union —Granting Catholic Claims alone required to attach the Irish Catholics and render Ireland an impregnable barrier to Great Britain—Privileges of Dissenters—Church Establishment in Ireland, Protestant and Catholic 41

11. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Indignation of the Chancellor—Catholic Question . . . 47

12. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Approval of conduct of late Ministry . . . . *ib.*

13. The Right Hon. Thomas Conolly to Lord Castlereagh—Danger of the Empire, from Political Divisions—Addington Ministry the Deputies of Mr. Pitt—Non-fulfilment of Promises made to the Catholics—Causes of Disaffection 48

1801. PAGE

Feb. 14. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Measures taken to prevent an outbreak among the Catholics—Necessity for the immediate retirement of his Lordship . 49

16. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh, announcing his resignation—Part taken by Mr. Pitt—Proceedings of the Catholics 50

16. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Public opinion in Ireland on the Conduct of Mr. Pitt, and the proposed concessions to the Catholics—Views of the Catholic body . 51

18. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Conduct of Mr. Pitt—Concessions to the Catholics . . . 52

19. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—Opposition of the Established Church to Catholic Emancipation—Test Law—Proposed amendment of Act of Toleration—Dissent in Ireland—The Methodists—State of Public feeling in reference to Religion—Uselessness of Penal Statutes 53

23. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Pitt and the Catholic Claims—Rumoured intentions of Government respecting the Catholics 60

23. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—State of the Catholic Question 61

25. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Alleged pledge to the Catholics—Test Act 62

27. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Policy of the new Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Hardwicke—Pledges given to the Catholics—Court party against the Cabinet . 63

25. Mr. McKenna to Mr. Cooke—Catholic Question—Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby—Puritanical feeling in Ireland 65

28. Rev. Dr. Black to Lord Castlereagh—Provision for the Presbyterian Clergy—Question of Emancipation—Treatment of the Catholics . . . . *ib.*

March 2. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke—Distress, from Scarcity, in Ireland—Bounty System—Plan for effectual measure of Relief 67

2. Resolution of the House of Commons for Relief of Public Distress in Ireland, dated Feb. 27, 1801 . . 69

3 Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Declarations of Lord Cornwallis to the Irish Catholics—Reeves's pamphlet on the Coronation Oath 70

3. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing:

Memorandum of what passed at the interview between the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Fingall, and Dr. Troy, in reference to the Catholic Claims . 71

1801. PAGE

March 3. Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—State Prisoners confined in Scotland 74
2. Mr. King to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, with warrant for removal of the State Prisoners to Ireland . 75
3. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Health of the King—Explanations respecting the Documents given to the Catholics 76
7. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Papers delivered to the Catholics—Catholic Question—League of the Northern Powers . . . . ib.
7. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Character of Mr. Addington 77
7. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Irish Distress—Measures of Relief—Enhancement of the price of Corn by Speculators—Issue of small notes . . 78
16. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Debate on Martial Law—Horne Tooke—Postponement of the Catholic Claims—Recovery of the King . . . 79
18. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Martial Law Bill—Political Prospect—Moderation of the Catholics . 80
20. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Sentiments of the King upon Emancipation and the Union, with his Majesty's opinion of Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Portland, and the Bishop of Meath 81
21. Lord Chesterfield to Lord Castlereagh, with extract from the Commons' Journal, respecting the Coronation Oath 82
23. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Private Information respecting the decision of the King, upon Emancipation—State arrangements in Ireland . . . ib.
27. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Hardwicke—Appointment of a new Commander of the Forces in Ireland—Jealousy of the Military Patronage of the Lord-Lieutenant . 83
May 30. Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh—Provision for the Presbyterian Clergy—Grants to Presbyterian Ministers—Charter for Presbyterian Widows' Fund . . 85
June 1. Lord Grenville to Lord Castlereagh—Catholic Question . 89
17. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Debate on Martial Law Bill—Corporation and Test Acts—Laws relating to Religion—Tithes—Parliamentary Leaders . . 90
17. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Effect of Mr. Addington's Speeches—Lord Castlereagh's duty towards Ireland—Consumption of grain in Distilleries . . 93
Aug. 3. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Alarm of Invasion—Official annoyances—State of Ireland . . 94

1801. PAGE
Aug. 12. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Official Arrangements—The French Concordat—French Invasion . . 96

SUPPLEMENT.

I. CATHOLICS.

Abstract of the Returns of the several Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland, relative to the State, Constitution, and Discipline of their Church, with Answers of the Roman Catholic Prelates to the Queries proposed to them by Government, on the subjects above mentioned 97
Historical Memoir on the Disposal of Church Benefices in England, before the Reformation 173

II. TITHES.

Remarks upon the Nature, Object, and Mode of levying Tithe: by Lord Castlereagh 193
Suggestions for the Improvement of the Tithe System in Ireland . 206
Plan respecting Tithes, proposed by Robert G. Hogan, Esq. . 210

III. NUMBER OF THE PRISONERS TRIED UNDER THE INSURRECTION ACT,

With their sentences (between November 10, 1800, and February 24, 1801) 214

CORRESPONDENCE, 1802.

Feb. 5. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—Concessions to the Irish Presbyterians . . . 216
23. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—Claims of Irish Dissenters—Propriety of Half-pay to Captains of Militia 219
July 21. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Addington—Fulfilment of Engagements to supporters of the Union—State Provision for the Irish Presbyterian and Catholic Clergy—Temper of the Country—Mr. Huskisson . . 223
Sept. 12. Extract of Letter from Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. William Wickham—Corn Laws—Prospect of Famine in Ireland 230
17. Right Hon. Charles Yorke to Lord Castlereagh—Appointment to the Governor-Generalship of India . . 232
Nov. 5. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham—Raising of an efficient Militia for Ireland . . . 233
11. Lord Pelham to Lord Hardwicke—Raising of the Irish Militia 235

1802. PAGE

Nov. 14. Right Hon. William Wickham to Lord Castlereagh—Mode of raising the Irish Militia—Question of Emergency . 235

14. Right Hon. William Wickham to Lord Castlereagh, in continuation 241

18. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham—Establishment of a Militia and of a regular Military Force in Ireland . 242

19. Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh—Militia Bill—Mode of raising a Militia—Interchange of Militia Corps . 244

21. Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh—Militia Laws of Ireland 246

SUPPLEMENT.

I. CATHOLICS.

Memorandum, by Lord Castlereagh, on Certain Regulations concerning Catholics, proposed by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Canning . 248

II. PRESBYTERIANS.

Observations on the situation of the Irish Presbyterians, by Alexander Knox, Esq. 252

CORRESPONDENCE, 1803.

Brief Notice of Events in Ireland, during the year 1803 . 262

Jan. 17. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—State of Ireland—Admission of Dissenters into Parliament . 279

May 25. Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh—Embodiment of the Irish Militia—State of Ireland—Conduct of the Yeomanry—Regular Effective Force in Ireland 281

July 15. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—Provision for the Presbyterian Clergy, and Regulations respecting it—Law to prevent Methodists from preaching to Negroes in Jamaica 284

21. Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh—Law passed against Methodist preachers in Jamaica—Influence of Dissenters—Negro Preachers . . . 290

Aug. 14. Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh—Statistics of the Military Force in Ireland, and the Capabilities of the Country for Defence 294

14. Lord Redesdale (Lord Chancellor of Ireland) to Lord Fingall, on his appointment as Justice of the Peace in Ireland 298

19. Lord Fingall to Lord Redesdale—The Conduct and Faith of Catholics, and their Allegiance to the Governments under which they live 302

1803. PAGE

Aug. 19. Lord Redesdale to Lord Fingall—On the Disabilities of Catholics, the nature of Catholic Charity, the Doctrine of the See of Rome, and the Teaching of the Romish Priesthood 304

Lord Fingall to Lord Redesdale—Loyalty of the Irish Catholics, and their devotion to the King and Constitution 307

28. Lord Redesdale to Lord Fingall—Showing the absolute incompatibility of entire tranquillity in Ireland with the Doctrines inculcated by the Romish Priesthood there . 308

Sept. 1. Lord Fingall to Lord Redesdale—Proposing to his Lordship to enter upon a Discussion on the Nature and Principles of the Roman Catholic Religion, with some of the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates . . . 310

6. Lord Redesdale to Lord Fingall, declining to enter into a Discussion with the Roman Catholic Prelates; and showing that recent acts of the Irish Roman Catholic Priesthood were entirely inimical to the preservation of tranquillity, and that several of the Roman Catholic Clergy were promoters of, and implicated in, the Rebellion 311

Papers relating to the Insurrection in Dublin, on the night of July 23rd, 1803.

Account of the Explosion in Patrick Street, on July 16th . 313

Extract of a Statement made to the Lord-Lieutenant, respecting the Transactions in Dublin on July 23rd, 1803 . . 316

General Statement of the Matters relating to the Insurrection of the 23rd of July, 1803 324

Alderman Darley's Account of the Disturbance which broke out in Dublin, on Saturday evening, July 23rd, 1803 . . 336

SUPPLEMENT.

I. DEFENCE OF IRELAND.

Statement showing the Insecurity of Ireland, with a Plan for its efficient Defence 339

1805.

II. CATHOLICS.

April 6. Mr. Plowden to Lord Cornwallis, requesting his Lordship to verify an assertion respecting the delivery to Dr. Troy of a certain document concerning Catholic Emancipation 372

1805. PAGE
April 7. Lord Cornwallis to Mr. Plowden, denying that he had ever pledged his Government to the granting of the Catholic Claims 373
8. Mr. Plowden to Lord Cornwallis, on the same subject . *ib.*
9. Lord Cornwallis to Mr. Plowden, in reply . . 374

1807.

HEADS OF DESPATCHES, MINUTES OF CABINET COUNCILS, AND CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE KING AND MINISTERS,

On the admission and promotion of Dissenters in the Army and Navy 374
Feb. 9. Earl Spencer to the King, relative to the proceedings of the Catholics of Ireland, with regard to their claims . 378
10. The King to Earl Spencer, setting forth his objections to the removal of any portion of the Catholic Disabilities 379
10. Lord Grenville to the King, with Minute of Cabinet, relative to the proposed removal of certain disabilities preventing the admission of Dissenters into the Army and Navy . . . . . *ib.*
10. The King to Lord Grenville, with permission for the question relative to Dissenters to be submitted to Parliament 383
12 Lord Grenville to the King, with Minute of Cabinet respecting the permission accorded, and the probability of a petition from the Catholics . . . 384
Mar. 12. Lord Grenville to the King, soliciting an Audience . 385
12. Lord Howick to the King, soliciting an Audience, in order to explain his conduct with reference to the Bill for admission of Dissenters into the Army and Navy . *ib.*
15. Lord Grenville to the King, with Minute of the Opinion of the Cabinet on the admission of Dissenters' Bill . 386
17. The King to the Cabinet Ministers, stating his determination to grant no concessions whatever to the Catholics, and requiring from Ministers an assurance that the question should not again be proposed to him . . 389
18. Lord Grenville to the King, with Minute of Cabinet, declining to give his Majesty the Pledge demanded . 390
Secret Memorandum on the expediency of making further concessions to the Catholics. By Lord Castlereagh . 392

1816.

Dec. 9. Mr. Webber to Lord Castlereagh . . . 400
Sept. 6. The Attorney-General of Ireland to Mr. Webber—Arguments against concessions to Catholics . . *ib.*

1816. PAGE

Suggestion respecting the adjustment of the relation between Government and the Roman Catholic Prelacy . . 419

A Bill for making a competent and independent Provision for the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy . . . 425

APPENDIX.

I. PAPERS RELATING TO THE STATE OF THE CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND UNDER GEORGE I.

Brief notice of the nature and contents of the Papers, with information respecting the writers 435

Conduct of the Pope and of the Catholics with regard to the King and the Pretender 437

Proposals for the enactment of more stringent laws against the Catholics, with suggestions for the introduction and working of the project. By Dr. Strickland, a Catholic Priest . . 439

Dr. Strickland's Memorial 441

Testimonials from various Cardinals, to the worth and capacity of Dr. Strickland, dated April, 1717 . . . 444

Sir William Goring to Lord Waldegrave, concerning what passed between him and Mr. Pulteney, about the Roman Catholics, dated January 8, 1719 447

The Earl of Stair to Lord Stanhope, recommending Dr. Strickland and his suggestions to the consideration of Government, dated April 25, 1718 451

Memorial of Dr. Strickland, respecting the Catholics, comprising:—

1. Negociations at Rome, respecting the Chevalier de St. George (the Pretender) 455
2. Conduct of the Pope after the arrival of the Chevalier de St. George at Rome 456
3. Dispositions of the Catholics . . . 457
4. What ought to be required of the Pope by England . *ib.*
5. Means of obtaining from the Pope what must be demanded of him 459
6. What it would be just to hope for afterwards from the Court (of England) 460
7. That the Catholics will never make the Pope's Dispensation a pretext for eluding their Oath of Allegiance . 461

Dr. Strickland to Mr. Secretary Craggs, respecting various arrangements with the Pope and the Emperor of Austria, relating to the Catholics, and concerning his own preferment; February 8, 1719 470

Dr. Strickland to Mr. Secretary Craggs; July 1, 1719 . . 472

Mr. Secretary Craggs to Lord Stanhope, respecting the arrest of Bishop Gifford and the Earl of Shrewsbury; July 7, 1719 . 473

PAGE

The Duke of Norfolk to Mr. Secretary Craggs, respecting the signature of a certain document referring to the Catholics, dated July 1, 1719 474

Mr. Secretary Craggs to the Duke of Norfolk, alluding to the probability of the Duke's arrest, unless his recommendations were complied with; dated July 3, 1719 . . . 475

Extract of an Act for inquiring of the Estates of certain Traitors and Popish Recusants, with forms of Oaths and Declarations . 476

Memorandums respecting applications to be made in behalf of Dr. Strickland (for preferment, &c.) 478

II. ON THE MEANS BY WHICH THE UNION WAS EFFECTED.

Extract of a letter to the (present) Marquess of Londonderry; dated December 1, 1847 479

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

4

1801.

On the first day of the year 1801, and of the century, the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland came into operation. The royal style, titles, and armorial bearings were changed, and those now in use adopted, on this auspicious occasion.

The United Parliament, the British portion of which continued the same as before, assembled on the 22nd of January. This event was speedily followed by Mr. Pitt's resignation of office, in consequence of a difference of opinion in the Cabinet respecting the expediency of granting any further extension of the privileges enjoyed by Roman Catholics, and of a firm determination on the part of his Majesty to refuse his assent to it, as involving a violation of his coronation oath.

A most important Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt, which opens the Correspondence of this year, throws great light upon the sentiments of the

Minister, who had encouraged the Catholics to expect concessions on the completion of the Union. There is also another remarkable paper written professedly in explanation of Mr. Pitt's motives for resigning, rather than be the instrument of disappointing those hopes which he had raised in the Catholic body.

The sentiments of Lord Castlereagh on the subject of concession coincided with those entertained by Mr. Pitt, which, there can be no doubt, are here correctly represented. Lord Cornwallis, who participated in these sentiments, and had held out corresponding assurances to the Catholics of Ireland, aware that, under present circumstances, they could not be realized, sent to the Duke of Portland a *civil* official resignation, notice of which be gives, under date of the 16th of February, to Lord Castlereagh, who was of course removed by it from the situation of Chief Secretary.

While some men were thus sacrificing the highest posts in the State to their attachment to principle, it is curious to observe Mr. Addington, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, the personal friend of Mr. Pitt, sliding into office as the head of a new administration, for the purpose of carrying out a line of policy in regard to the Catholics, diametrically opposite to his, and totally at variance with his own convictions, avowed in the House of Commons on the 12th of February, 1799, in reference to a Union, "published and circulated in Ireland, to show the disposition of the leaders in England to the Catholics, and to encourage them to support a Union." Many of the numerous and attractive letters of this gentleman prove how well his sentiments on the Catholic question harmonized with those of his principal; and the manner in which he expresses his scruples about retaining office under such circumstances, particularly in his Letter of the 9th of February, to Lord Castlereagh, affords striking evidence of a high and honourable spirit, and of a tone of feeling, which a mind of kindred character cannot but admire.

While upon this subject, I cannot refrain from pointing to the sensible Letters of Mr. Alexander Knox, fraught with practical information on every topic that he discusses; and who, having held an official situation under Lord Castlereagh, acknowledges the kindness conferred by his Lordship with such a warmth of gratitude as is truly affecting.

The returns of the Roman Catholic Prelates to the queries addressed to them by Government in the preceding year, relative to the state of their respective dioceses, will be found in the Supplement to the Correspondence for this year.

The Irish Parliament, in the last year of its existence, enacted a law by which the Lord-Lieutenant and Council were empowered to declare any county, on the representation of a certain number of its magistrates, in a state of insurrection. After this declaration had been legally notified, the magistrates were authorized to apprehend any person and bring him before a petty session convened at any time or place by two or three justices of the peace, who could, in a summary manner and without the intervention of a jury, determine whether the party accused had contravened the injunction to keep within his dwelling after nine o'clock at night, or had in any manner acted in furtherance of disturbance; if satisfied, they might adjudge the offender at their discretion to transportation, as a disorderly person. There certainly was a right of appeal to the more general sessions, but when the ignorance and poverty of the lower classes of the natives of Ireland are considered, it will appear nearly nugatory: the culprit could scarcely understand the transaction, and could seldom command the means by which alone advice could be procured; and, as very few days were allowed wherein to lodge the appeal, the right had generally lapsed before the unfortunate person was aware of that mode of redress.

In the proceedings of the United Parliament, there was nothing particularly involving the interests of Ireland, but the debates on motions made by Lord Castlereagh for continuing the Act for the Suppression of Rebellion in Ireland, and also that for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. He contended that, from an examination of facts and circumstances respecting the origin, progress, and termination of open rebellion and the then state of Ireland, in which secret rebellion still lurked, nothing but the exercise of martial law could give free course to justice and save the country. The disturbances still existing in Ireland were, he said, directed, firstly, against the property and persons of the well affected; secondly, against the course of justice. Unless the persons engaged in acts of rebellion could be brought summarily to trial, the friends of Government would be exposed to the danger of certain destruction.

A vigorous resistance was made to these motions by Sir Lawrence Parsons, and some of the leaders of the English Opposition; but many of the Irish Members completely confirmed the representations of Lord Castlereagh, respecting the state of their country at that moment, and Mr. Pitt took this occasion to pay many compliments to his talents, and to his extensive knowledge of the true interests of the British Empire. He said that "he had that night given proof that there were among us talents of the first rate, which talents, whether in or out of office, would always be ready for exertion as occasion might arise, against the most bitter enemy of human happiness that ever yet appeared in this world of Jacobinism."

On the third reading of the first of the Bills in the House of Lords, the Earl of Clare drew such a picture of the state of Ireland as was sufficient to make humanity shudder. It was filled up with all that is brutal in savage and all that is corrupt and detestable in civilized life. The County of Limerick, in which he resided, was, he said, almost the only one that remained quiet during the rebellion; yet a dangerous insurrection afterwards suddenly broke out there. It was begun by an atrocious murder committed under his own roof. One of his servants was put to death with circumstances of the most shocking inhumanity, merely because he was an Englishman.[1] And, to show the extreme barbarism at which the Irish people had arrived, the murderer was a man who had been in the service of his father and himself upwards of thirty years, and been uniformly treated by both with the utmost kindness. The wretch had stolen arms from his house and distributed them among the rebels. When he was led to execution, he confessed to the priest who attended him that a list of twenty persons, whom it was resolved to murder, had been made out, and that his master was one of the number. His Lordship declared that he was nevertheless the only individual who gave employment and bread to the poor of the neighbourhood, and that without him they must have been reduced to extreme misery. He mentioned this to show that those people were not actuated by any thing resembling a rational motive, but incited merely by a thirst for blood. If the noble Earl (Fitzwilliam, to whom Lord Clare seemed all along by his look particularly to address himself) could find time to visit his estates in the County of Wicklow, he would see that these representations were not exaggerated; he would behold nothing but traces of desolation and signs of the renewal of horrors. Happy, inexpressibly happy, should he be, if he could once more go out unarmed; for it was a curious fact that, when he was in Ireland, his servant brought him his arms as regularly as his hat. To think of repressing this spirit by coaxing, concession, and indulgence, was absurd. Acts of that kind, although well meant, had already had a mischievous tendency. The rebels had a system of laws the most severe and the most promptly executed. This was far more efficient than the civil code, and only to be counteracted by martial law. He insisted that, if the bill for continuing martial law were not adopted, scenes rivalling in atrocity those which marked the year 1641 would be the consequence.

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[1] It was his Lordship's house-steward, whose murder is mentioned in the Correspondence of a preceding year.

Both bills passed, not without strong opposition, through the two Houses, in the months of March and April.

In the early part of this year, so great was the dearth of bread-corn, that in London the quartern loaf rose to the unprecedented price of 1*s.* 10½*d.* The distress which prevailed among the poorer classes of the population of both kingdoms was consequently most severe, notwithstanding the efforts of private benevolence to alleviate the calamity. The same object engaged the earnest attention of the Legislature; and a royal proclamation forbade bakers to make pure wheaten bread, and in consequence rice, immense quantities of which had been imported from the East Indies, potatoes, and other ingredients for lowering the quality, were very largely used.

On the 17th of March, the Earl of Hardwicke was sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, and appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis in the government of Ireland, whither he shortly afterwards repaired, with the Right Honourable Charles Abbott, as Chief Secretary.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Private. Thursday, January 1, 1801.

My dear Sir—Since I had an opportunity of explaining to you Lord Cornwallis's sentiments in respect to his further stay in Ireland, the Duke of Portland has been so obliging as to communicate to me a paper which has been in circulation, referring to one of mine on the Catholic question. As that paper rests its objections to the measure principally on the merits of the question itself, I feel it necessary to represent to you the disappointment Lord Cornwallis may feel, should the sentiments stated in that paper be adopted and acted upon by the Cabinet.

When I left Lord Cornwallis, he certainly was prepared for some difference of opinion in the Cabinet on the principle of the measure itself, and for much caution on the part of his Majesty's Ministers in general, with respect to the period when they might think themselves justified in prudence in proposing to Parliament so important an alteration of the Test Laws; but he did not apprehend, from anything that had hitherto passed on the subject, that their sentiments were adverse to the principle of the measure connected with the Union, much less that they were prepared to oppose the question on its merits, and to declare their determination to resist hereafter any further concession to the Catholics.

As this impression on his Excellency's mind was in a great measure the result of what passed with reference to this subject when I was in England in the autumn of 1799, I think it necessary to recall to your recollection that, after the details of the Union had been completed, I was directed by the Lord-Lieutenant to represent to you the state of parties as they stood at that time in Ireland, and particularly to request that you would ascertain what was likely to be the ultimate decision of his Majesty's Ministers with respect to the Catholics, as his Excellency felt it to be of equal importance to the future quiet of Ireland, to his own feelings, and to the credit of the Administration in both countries, that he should so conduct himself towards that body as to preclude hereafter any well-founded imputation, or even any strong impression on their minds that they had been deceived.

The statement I then made was, as I recollect, nearly to the following effect—that we had a majority in Parliament composed of very doubtful materials; that the Protestant body was divided on the question, with the disadvantage of Dublin and the Orange Societies against us; and that the Catholics were holding back under a doubt whether the Union would facilitate or impede their object. I stated it as the opinion of the Irish Government that, circumstanced as the Parliamentary interests and the Protestant feelings then were, the measure could not be carried, if the Catholics were embarked in an active opposition to it, and that their resistance would be unanimous and zealous, if they had reason to suppose that the sentiments of Ministers would remain unchanged in respect to their exclusion; while the measure of Union in itself might give them additional means of disappointing their hopes.

I stated that several attempts had been made by leading Catholics to bring Government to an explanation, which had of course been evaded; and that the body, thus left to their own speculations in respect to the future influence of the Union upon their cause, were, with some exceptions, either neutral or actual opponents—the former entertaining hopes, but not inclining to support decidedly without some encouragement from Government; the latter entirely hostile, from a persuasion that it would so strengthen the Protestant interest as to perpetuate their exclusion.

I represented that the friends of Government, by flattering the hopes of the Catholics, had produced a favourable impression in Cork, Tipperary, and Galway; but that, in proportion as his Excellency had felt the advantage of this popular support, he was anxious to be ascertained, in availing himself of the assistance which he knew was alone given in contemplation of its being auxiliary to their own views, that he was not involving Government in future difficulties with that body, by exposing them to a charge of duplicity; and he was peculiarly desirous of being secure against such a risk before he *personally* encouraged the Catholics to come forward, and to afford him that assistance which he felt to be so important to the success of the measure. In consequence of this representation, the Cabinet took the measure into their consideration; and, having been directed to attend the meeting, I was charged to convey to Lord Cornwallis the result, and his Excellency was referred by the Duke of Portland to me for a statement of the opinions of his Majesty's Ministers on this important subject.

Accordingly, I communicated to Lord Cornwallis that the opinion of the Cabinet was favourable to the principle of the measure; that some doubt was entertained as to the possibility of admitting Catholics into some of the *higher offices*, and that ministers apprehended considerable repugnance to the measure in many quarters, and particularly in the *highest;* but, that, as far as the sentiments of the Cabinet were concerned, his Excellency need not hesitate in calling forth the Catholic support, in whatever degree he found it practicable to obtain it.

I trust you will be of opinion that I did not misconceive or misstate what passed in that Cabinet. I certainly did not then hear any direct objection stated against the principle of the measure by any one of the ministers then present. You will, I have no doubt, recollect, that, so far from any serious hesitation being entertained in respect to the principle, it was even discussed whether an immediate declaration to the Catholics would not be advisable, and whether an assurance should not be distinctly given them in the event of the Union being accomplished, of their objects being submitted, with the countenance of Government to the United Parliament upon a peace. This idea was laid aside principally upon the consideration that such a declaration might alienate the Protestants in both countries from the Union, in a greater degree than it was calculated to assist the measure through the Catholics; and, accordingly, the instructions which I was directed to convey to Lord Cornwallis were to the following effect:—That his Excellency was fully warranted in soliciting every support the Catholics could afford; that he need not apprehend, as far as the sentiments of the Cabinet were concerned, being involved in the difficulty with that body which he seemed to apprehend; that it was not thought expedient at that time to give any direct assurance to the Catholics; but, that, should circumstances so far alter as to induce his Excellency to consider such an explanation necessary, he was at liberty to state the grounds on which his opinion was formed for the consideration of the Cabinet.

In consequence of this communication, the Irish Government omitted no exertion to call forth the Catholics in favour of the Union. Their efforts were very generally successful, and the advantage derived from them was highly useful, particularly in depriving the Opposition of the means they otherwise would have had in the southern and western counties of making an impression on the county members. His Excellency was enabled to accomplish his purpose without giving the Catholics any direct assurance of being gratified, and, throughout the contest, earnestly avoided being driven to such an expedient; as he considered a gratuitous concession after the measure as infinitely more consistent with the character of Government.

The Union being carried, I was directed by the Lord-Lieutenant, when last in England, to recall the attention of his Majesty's Ministers to the Catholic question, and to impress on their minds the anxiety his Excellency felt that they should not suffer themselves to be anticipated in the purposed Act of Grace by the Opposition.

On my return to Ireland, I communicated to the Lord-Lieutenant what had passed in Cabinet with reference to this subject. I apprized his Excellency that sentiments unfavourable to the concession had been expressed by the highest Law authority, and that the Cabinet at large did not feel themselves enabled, in his Majesty's absence, and without sounding opinions in other quarters, to take a final decision on so momentous a question; but I did not feel myself warranted, from anything that had passed, to disappoint the hopes his Excellency had been led so distinctly to form, and which he still continued to entertain, should the ultimate decision of his Majesty's Ministers accord with the statement of the question to which I have alluded. You will easily conceive that, in addition to the public regret his Excellency will experience at the abandonment of a measure which he considers to be essential to the future interests of the Empire, he will feel a peculiar degree of pain on finding himself placed in those awkward circumstances with respect to the Catholics, to which he foresaw the transaction in itself was so likely to lead, and which he took every possible precaution to avoid.

You know Lord Cornwallis is the last person in the world who would wish to consider what has passed on the part of the Cabinet as a pledge given to him, though not to the Catholics. You know his feelings are, with respect to the disposal of this question, altogether public. I have merely presumed, and I trust you will be of opinion, that I have not gone beyond my duty in doing so, to recall those communications which passed through me to your recollection, anxiously trusting that no additional difficulty has been introduced into the transaction from any inaccuracy on my part, and feeling assured that you will give what I have stated, together with all the other considerations which bear on this important question, their due weight in your decision.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Phœnix Park, January 2, 1801.

My dear Lord—We fired our guns yesterday, and hoisted our new flags and standards; and, when I went to town to attend the council, I saw a number of people in the Castle-yard and the streets near the Castle, but they seemed to be brought thither entirely by curiosity, and I did not hear a single expression of ill humour or disapprobation.

This calm, however, cannot be expected to last, if the evil genius of Britain should induce the Cabinet to continue the proscription of the Catholics. They are quiet now, because they feel confident of success. What a reverse must we not apprehend from their unexpected disappointment!

Cooke has alarmed me by saying that he does not see how our Master-General and Board of Ordnance can receive any compensation for their offices, as the extinction of the Board is by no means a necessary consequence of the Union. I had understood that it had always been the practice in this country to continue to the possessors, at the time of reduction, the salaries of extinguished offices.

I find that they have neglected to transmit my recommendation of Lord Conyngham for the Ribbon. Cooke has promised to send it to-night—will you have the goodness to inquire after it, and get it returned?

Charles Ormsby has just been with me, and given a most satisfactory account of the present state of the County of Limerick, with a detail of the proceedings; and I think that he and Sir James Duff have conducted themselves with great judgment and good sense.

I have heard nothing very lately from Clara; and, as detachments of the light infantry have been sent thither, and to Kilbeggan, and Tullamore, I conclude that if any mischief was intended, it has been effectually prevented.

I am, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,

Cornwallis.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 2, 1801.

My dear Lord—Yesterday went off without observation. The mob were delighted with the new flag. His Excellency did not think it wise to have any gala.

His Excellency received to-night Lord Conyngham for Lord Waterford's riband, and Maginnis for Beresford's deanery of Kilmore.

I had a long conversation yesterday with Clarke, the cotton-weaver. He thinks the cotton trade in general is doing pretty well, and likely to do better. His great object is, to make the weavers and the shearers work at English prices—but in vain, hitherto. He hopes, however, to attain his end by degrees, especially if the distilling continues prohibited, and whiskey unattainable.

I hope your Lordship will think of turning this circumstance of whiskey being almost abolished to account, and never suffer it again to become the prevalent drink of the country. If you will seriously bend yourself to this measure, and make it your object, you will do more good to Ireland, and make to yourself more permanent fame than by any other measure. It is certainly a subject of much difficulty, and Revenue considerations will be started against you; but, if you would seriously undertake the subject, you would soon find support enough. I wish you would give me your real thoughts on this point; for, if I conceived you would undertake it and push it, I should like to get all the materials I could for you.

I hope soon to hear from your Lordship.

Most truly, &c.,

E. Cooke.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, January 5, 1801.

My dear Lord—Three packets arrived to-day, which brought your letter of the 29th.

I think I have anticipated your Lordship as to Crown Lawyers, but I will send all the documents relating to them in a day or two. I have them nearly prepared.

I do not understand the delay as to the Master of the Rolls. You hint that an Act of Parliament is wanting—for what?

As to Roman Catholic Clergy, my idea generally is, that the stipend to be paid to them shall go to exonerate the lowest classes from payment to their priest—as, in the Presbyterian Church, a distinction is made between those who pay stipend and do not.

Lord Aldborough[1] is dead: Wingfield is withdrawn; and we trust Lord Proby will now succeed.

I have received a letter from Lord Grenville to Lord Proby, and have returned it to his Lordship with an explanatory letter.

Most truly and faithfully,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 6, 1801.

My dear Lord—My Lord-Lieutenant tells me that he writes to you: he also writes to Mr. Dundas, who thinks that we can spare 50,000 quarters of wheat for the navy. This is a quantity equal to our greatest export in the most fertile years, when we had an army of 12,000, and not of 70,000 men. I enclose the last Dublin market note. What would be the effect of a purchase of corn for England to the amount of near £400,000?

This is the first year of Union. I see no appearance yet that we are able to spare any provision at all: from the failure of potatoes, the poor are almost starving in many parts. Fitzgerald told me to-day that his regiment, the Kerry, are reduced to a state of feebleness, from inanition. They have only oatmeal and water to live upon. They are at Rathangan, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. It is only from a persuasion that there will be no export to England, and that Government does all in its power for their relief, that the people are quiet.

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[1] Edward, second Earl.

Has your Lordship any memorandums or wishes as to Sheriffs? Ford is first on the list for Down.

I shall trust your Lordship will arrange that every Parliamentary proceeding of both Houses, and every paper printed, should be sent over without delay.

Ever most truly, &c.,
E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 7, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have received this evening your letter of the 31st, by messenger.

I feel exactly as your Lordship with regard to Ormsby. With regard to my office, as soon as Court-martials are at an end, I want no assistance. At the same time, I own it may be a pleasant circumstance to have a colleague in office, whose assistance may allow me sometimes leave of absence. At present, however, I consider every thing unsettled. Your situation is certainly undefined, or, at least, will be when his Excellency goes; and, until you see all *planum et liquidum* as to yourself and the ultimate arrangement of business, every thing must be considered as provisional and *ad interim.*

The Barrack Board are making large demands beyond their estimate—I believe, necessarily.

I beg to put you on your guard as to the office of Examinator of the Excise. The present possessor, John Swan, has been in the Revenue above forty years: he has claims to retire. His office is above £900 a-year—will be to a successor £800. It ought to be given, on Revenue principle, to a meritorious officer; but there are good officers in the department; and, if a man of reputation were placed over them (like Staples in the correspondent office of Examinator of Customs), it might be acquiesced in.

I wish your Lordship to settle official business and correspondence, so as to leave yourself as much time as possible for subjects of consequence, and for information on all those general points which require much research and study.

Ever most truly, &c., E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 9, 1801.

My dear Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant gave me yesterday the Chancellor's Paper. In the evening I read it, and wrote the enclosed remarks, which may possibly be of use, and so I send them in their crude state.

My opinion is, that there is nothing in the Chancellor's Paper which precludes discussing, though it may preclude forcing, the question. Your letter goes to the point of keeping Ministers open upon the principle; the Chancellor goes to close the question for ever. I conceive that, under Mr. Pitt's speech on the Union, it is *impossible* for him to close the question against the Catholics. I think, upon the discussion of it, he has precluded himself from negativing the principle: and it must always be recollected, that the discussion does not depend upon himself. If he does not make it his theme, it will be the theme of Opposition.

The great argument will be, not on the points stated by the Chancellor, but upon the wisdom, policy, beneficial experience of the Test Laws, the free principles of the Reformation, the freer principles of the Revolution; and the conduct and prejudices of 200 years will be appealed to, and a Constitution purchased, by the blood of martyrs and patriots, who perished at the stake in Smithfield, and fell upon the banks of the Boyne, and on the plains of Aghrim. This is the part of the question on which, if I have any judgment, you must arm yourself. The old Whig principle may burst out, and be abetted by all those who fear change of any kind, who dread Popery in every shape, and who see Antichrist in every priest.

The Inspector of Revenue Vessels is above eighty years of age; he wants to retire. You recollect Mr. Draper, the Surveyor, on the Quay: Mr. Beresford recommends him as the fittest person to succeed. His promotion will make no vacancy, for his son is joined with him in his present place. Draper is a good man.

Lord Shannon called on me to-day. He said Lysaght, Collector of Cork Excise, was likely soon to resign or die; he recommended Government to put in a well-chosen person. It is a station of great consequence to the Revenue, and is worth at least £800 a-year.

George Sandford is anxious to exchange his Barrack-mastership of Dublin for a place of less profit and responsibility.

Most truly, &c.,

E. Cooke.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 11, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have your Lordship's two letters of the 7th, which, I believe, answer all my queries as to Oaths and Tests. I have always thought that one of the great difficulties, if not the greatest, which would attend the measure of giving Catholics political equality, would be the arrangement of the Tests.

Is it conceivable or possible, that the members of the same Legislature should take different Tests?—that one man should come up to the table of the House of Commons, and take an oath abjuring all foreign spiritual and ecclesiastical supremacy, declaring against the power of the Pope to depose excommunicated princes, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, and protesting against the sacrifice, and the mass, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary, as superstitious and idolatrous? —that the next person who approached the table should merely protest against the deposing power, and the consequence of excommunication, but should be excused from abjuring foreign jurisdiction, or protesting against Popish superstitions? It seems contrary, therefore, to common sense, that there should be more than one Test, suited to the tenets of all the Members who are to compose the Parliament. I am afraid, however, that though, upon the principles of policy and toleration, the Protestants may consent to admit Catholics into the House of Commons, they will prefer the anomaly of having two Tests, however contradictory to each other, than give up those lines of demarcation which so strongly mark their separation from Popery.

I know not how to cut this knot. Why not resort to the Tests taken by Members of Parliament after the Reformation, and until Catholics were ejected by the Tests of 30 Charles II. in England, and in Ireland by 3 William III.? This will be considered as too general. I think the less distrust and suspicion which any new Test law shall carry the better. The American Test is very latitudinous. The Irish Test satisfied the Archbishop of Cashel. He thought it was carrying a great point. It surely goes as far as is necessary in exploding what are supposed to have been the obnoxious doctrines of Popery.

I do not see how you could frame an oath to abjure political tenets; nor do I see the least necessity for it, so far as relates to Papists who may get office, or be elected Members of Parliament. The gentlemen of that persuasion are far from democrats. The great point to be first decided is, whether you will form an oath of comprehension, which shall be taken by all the parties, or whether you will leave the present oath, and add another to be taken by Papists. If the former, the terms must be very general; if the latter, the oath goes, in my idea, to every particular which the most stern Protestants would wish to include, and much further than in any sense is useful. On either idea, the framing the oath is easy; deciding on the principle is difficult. My ideas are, to do whatever is to be done in the line not of distrust, but of confidence. The less of insinuation and taunt which shall be in the oaths the better.

If you try to introduce any thing political, you will raise a cry that you are endeavouring to exclude the true Whig principles.

If you purchase "Gilbert's Codex," in two volumes, folio, you will find an easy clue to all points you want, as to Oaths, Statutes, Schoolmasters, and every thing of Church discipline. It is a book of easy reference.

Do not introduce into your oaths "impious" and "heretical." —Heretics declare heresy!

You will find it necessary to look at the controversy made by the Protesting Catholics some years ago, at the head of which was You can get all the tracts in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, at Coghlan's.

Ever most truly,
E. COOKE.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Phœnix Park, January 14, 1801.

My dear Lord—Your letter, dated the 7th, afforded me very sincere satisfaction. If Mr. Pitt is firm, he will meet with no difficulty; and the misfortunes of the present times are much in his favour towards carrying this point, on the same grounds that the Rebellion assisted the Union. Timid men will not venture on any change of system, however wise and just, unless their fears are alarmed by pressing dangers.

Lord Longueville brought me an account yesterday of the death of Lysaght; and, after the encouragement he has received, and his production of your letter, I admitted his recommendation.

I never had the smallest doubt of your having been perfectly correct in regard to what passed in Cabinet, as your memory is good, and you wrote to me immediately after it had taken place. I had, however, some apprehension that Mr.

Pitt's recollection was not so clear, as I thought that he would have felt that they had gone too far to retreat, without some extraordinary change of circumstances; it is now most satisfactorily settled.

Yours ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

I see no prospect of compensation for our Board of Ordnance.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 22, 1801.

My dear Lord—All your last letters have administered real comfort to me. We now shall turn that great measure of the Union to real profit; at the same time that we are adopting the only means of resisting the hostility of almost all Europe. Lord Fingall was with me yesterday, and said that many of the Catholics had spoken to him about presenting a petition; I requested that he would use his utmost influence to prevent any such measure, which he has promised to do, and I have spoken to Lord Donoughmore to the same effect, in case any application should be made to him. It may be of some advantage that you should know that I hear from good authority that the Primate returns to England, fully approving of the conduct of the present Irish Government, and by no means an anti-Catholic, in respect to their general treatment in this country: as neither his Grace nor my informants know anything of the great question that is now impending, nothing was said on that particular point; we may, however, fairly hope, from the tenour of his expressions, that he will not be disposed to do mischief in a certain quarter.

Yours ever, &c., CORNWALLIS.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Grosvenor Street, Sunday morning, January 25, 1801.

My Lord—Although the arrangement in favour of national Superiors in the British and Irish Colleges in Rome had been solemnly guaranteed by the late Pope, an attempt was made to frustrate it in the present pontificate, which, in the opinion of the clergy of the Roman communion, was likely to succeed.

By the last mail, I received the enclosed letter, which assures an adherence to the reform, and, as it marks the favourable sentiments of the present Pontiff, your Lordship, I am persuaded, will read it with satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
J. C. HIPPISLEY.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. P. Macpherson.

Rome, July 18, 1800.

You will have received from M. Mondaini an account of the honours which we witnessed done to Pius VII. at Pesaro, Termo, Sinigallia, and Ancona. The joy was universal and enthusiastic, and, on his arrival on this side the Apennines, exceeding all description. The scene was truly affecting, and not a dry eye, I believe, in Rome upon his arrival here. He is now employed in drawing up with his own hands, and without assistance, a complete plan of reform for all the clergy, secular and regular. He has already given the example himself. Few are the marks of the Sovereign—the Bishop is the character in which he wishes to appear. All the papal lands are nominally restored, with the exception of the three Legations, Benevento, and Ponte Corvo—I say nominally, as the Austrians are still at Ancona and all the other places they before occupied. The Neapolitans still retain the military command at Rome. Your friend Consalvi still exercises the functions of Secretary of State, and Borgia remains at the head of Propaganda; whether Gerdil will resume it we know not.

The poor Cardinal York is returned to Frascati, which is not as it was, you may well believe.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, January 29, 1801.

My dear Lord—Cooke showed me your letter last night, when we had some conversation respecting the Martial Law

Bill. I have already told you that I had made up my mind on the necessity of its continuance until the end of the war, but, as long as that law is in force, there must be a Lord-Lieutenant: it would not be tolerated under the direction of any of the great personages on this side of the water. If, instead of renewing the bill from year to year, it should be thought expedient to vote its continuance as long as the present war with France shall last, it should at least be generally understood here, that the government of a Lord-Lieutenant will be coeval with that act. You will not suspect me of endeavouring, by the above insinuation, to secure my own continuance in office; God knows that cannot be of long duration, and I have no idea of living till the end of the war.

Yours ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Dublin, January 29, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have sent Elliott the Commissioner of Compensations Report, which is satisfactory.

The Martial Law Bill is ordered. My Lord-Lieutenant thinks that, as the Habeas Corpus Bill is annual, the Martial Law Bill should be confined to that period. He thinks the extending it to the duration of the war is rather harsh to this country, and he wishes the point to be considered. I think your Lordship will find it necessary to have the Irish county gentlemen with you on the measure. The continuance of Martial Law must certainly make the continuance of a Lord-Lieutenant necessary to carry it into execution.

I am in a strange situation; for I write to you as freely and fully as if there was no Lord-Lieutenant, and I try to know your opinion on all subjects first. It sometimes makes me feel queer.

Exchange is very high again. I should think the system of Duplicate Debentures, as issued on the last loan of Burrowes', would be a means of regulating Exchange. They are about at par in England and Ireland in general. A man buys his Duplicate Debenture here: he carries it to London; on his arrival, he sells it probably for what it cost him, and he saves the Exchange. Might not this suggest something?

Some disloyal symptoms have appeared at Astley's. The blackguards are very uproarious:

A high gallows, and a windy day,
For Billy Pitt and Castlereagh!

a clap for Buonaparte; a clap for O'Connor, &c., &c. This kind of clamour fills the intervals of the acts.

I dined yesterday with his Excellency. The titular Primate of all Ireland, and titular Primate of Ireland, and the President of the College of Maynooth, were there, and Lord Kilwarden, Lord Donoughmore, Hutchinson, and Dr. Browne. We were cheerful and pleasant. His Excellency made the play.

We do not deal yet in brilliant routs, assemblies, &c.

Ever your Lordship's most sincerely,

E. COOKE.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 2, 1801.

My dear Lord—I cannot express the satisfaction which I received from your letter of the 26th, which has relieved all my apprehensions. The subject is now publicly talked of here, although, I assure you, that it did not transpire from the Castle. Cooke will probably have acquainted you that Lord Shannon says he believes the measure is now necessary, and Lord Loftus told Littlehales that it was an awful measure, but he hoped God (*i.e.* the Treasury) would direct us right. I suspect that most of the hundred members will either be for it from principle, or, like Lord L., put their trust in God. Sir Richard Musgrave says, if they preserve the Protestant Charter Schools, he shall be satisfied. I have given Cooke the Chancellor's Bill on Tithes, and shall not fail, from time to time, to remind him of it.

Hitherto, notwithstanding the scarcity, I hear nowhere of any symptoms of ill-humour, and the Catholic question will operate so forcibly through the whole country, that I do not think, if the French come, that they will meet with many friends. Nobody would have believed, three years ago, that Union, Catholic Emancipation, and the restoration of perfect tranquillity, could have taken place in so short a time.

Yours most truly, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin, February 3, 1801.

My dear Lord—I read carefully the Chancellor's Paper and Bill upon Tithes, and considered it with Marsden. I will send some remarks of his to-morrow. The plan is merely permissive: it may reach the landlord; but how can the little cottier make a lease of his Tithes? This year he has flax, next year, none—this year potatoes, next year, none—this year his ground is fallow—then, he is tenant at will. Surely your scheme of a Tithe Table, subject to revision at certain periods, is infinitely preferable, whether permissive or coercive.

I am in the country this evening, for the fineness of it decoyed me. It has been like summer.

I long to hear how you are out of your difficulties. A little patience, and a little attention to the whisperers, will bring things right. At the same time, it is a question which goes so deeply to feelings and prejudices that I neither wonder at what has happened, nor shall wonder if more happens. I think the decision of the question as you wish would make no ferment here.

As to exempting potato-gardens from Tithes, there is but one objection—the making a law to take away a man's property, which he legally possesses. At the same time, I believe garden potatoes are not titheable in England, and certainly are not in several parts of Ireland by custom. Grattan's plan went to a Tithe Table and exemption of potato-gardens. All his information was anonymous, and therefore of little or no authority.

I see by the papers Mr. Pitt, &c., are removed.

Most truly, your Lordship's servant,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, February 5, 1801.

My dear Lord—The packet of the 2nd is due; so we know not what passed on Monday. I write only to say that all is quiet here, and we enjoy the benefits of the Union most completely. At the same time, I think there is no necessity to advert in Parliament to this happy state, lest the observation should put us on our mettle. *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.* Nothing can be more true when applied to us.

I have no doubt of Mr. Pitt's continuance.

I think Lord Clare seems to have a mind to observe on Lord Cornwallis's Papers to the Catholics.—Foster is in town: I hear his language is Protestant in the extreme.

Ever, most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Lady Kenmare's news is that, let what will happen, Mr. Pitt will still be Minister.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, February 6, 1801.

My dear Lord—I do not think your letter very alarming. Everything depends on the firmness of the Cabinet. There is no Opposition to be appealed to, for they are a hundred times deeper committed upon the point in question than Mr. Pitt.

I cannot conceive that Opposition will give up their declared principles for the sake of power: they could not be so bad. I think their wish will be that the King should be inflexible, attempt to make a Ministry, and then join with Mr. Pitt to overthrow it. All I dread is a Lord G. Gordon mob.—I hope you are preparing yourself, and that you will show yourself, in your best style. You will all be forced to take your ground early.

I hear of nothing violent here but Dr. Duigenan. I think the Catholics will be temperate. The difficulties of the times carried the Union: they will carry the present question.

The more I think on Lord Loughborough's plan, about Tithes, the less it satisfies me: the more I think on your plan, the better am I pleased with it.

Ever, most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, February 6, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have yours of the 2nd and 3rd: I will answer the points of business to-morrow.

I thank you for mentioning me to Mr. Pitt. In the present state of things, immediate decision is unnecessary. My sentiment is that, after what has happened, I could not serve an Administration which was to found itself on the denial of further concession to the Sectaries. I feel such an Administration could not last, and I could not bear to be an agent in promoting its continuance. Such are my decided sentiments. Whether, upon an explanation that the new Government was merely to postpone the question without denying the principle, I should be consistent in continuing is another case. Yet I think it impossible that any Government could be ridiculous enough to come in upon such an avowal. It is inviting defeat, and courting its own downfall.

I see foreign politics seem to be forgotten, although the Prussian manifesto is in the papers.

You may be assured I mentioned my subject to his Excellency.

Most truly and faithfully,
E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret and Confidential. Dublin Castle, February 9, 1801.

My dear Lord—Your letters grow more and more interesting. I think Addington not only the best but the only man that could be found. How the groupe is to be completed I cannot guess. I forgot the Chair.

As to myself, you write, of course, as you wish, for the mere sake of my interest; but you will recollect that the present is not an ordinary case of change. The change is upon a principle, upon which, after long thought, and certainly without necessity, I am known to have committed myself. I do not repent of my decision: I think it the only right and safe decision that can be formed. I think the side I have taken must soon and ultimately succeed.

The Administration which is to be formed in opposition to that principle will require the utmost exertion of all the knowledge and abilities of its supporters, to counteract the general resistance they will experience in this country: all their views and actions will originate and terminate in one and the same point.

How can I, with my natural eagerness and indiscretion, (which official habits for twenty years have not been able to tame) sit a quiet, torpid, useless clerk at a desk, going through mere common drudgery, and disapproving every measure that is taken by the Government which permits me? Or, if exertion shall be expected from me, how can I, with zeal and earnestness, and intrepidity and honour, call forth all my little abilities, and assist with all my local knowledge, to counteract the principle I have professed, and to prevent that system taking place which I consider to be alone safe for the Empire?

I conceive that, after my length of service and the confidential manner in which I have been employed, nothing unkind will be done to me; but I could not embark in an Administration founded upon one principle alone, which principle, after mature consideration, I think dangerous and untenable. I am confident you will make the right use of this avowal, and that you will be kind enough to let me know, as far as you can, the line which is to be pursued.

I should think you will not be much embarrassed as to your engagements; for it must be so much the complete interest of your successors to keep faith with the Union supporters, that no soreness will arise on that head. I think the apparent certainty that the question at issue will be carried before many years, if not months, will keep the Sectarists quiet.

Ever, most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

Shrewsbury, February 9, 1801.

My dear Lord—Wherever I am, in whatever circumstances I may be, I must still, until consciousness and recollection leave me, think of you. You had the goodness to wish that I should be about this time in London. Knowing, as I do, that every such thought is solely the expression of your kindness to me, I feel it with gratitude to which words cannot do justice. But, alas! I may almost say *Fata obstant.* My state of health is such as to make the utmost possible degree of quietness necessary for me; and even the degree of movement which the common exercise necessary to health implies has sometimes such an effect on my unfortunate nerves as almost to lead me to wish that I were obliged to lie a-bed always without even the power of rising. Yet I do not despair of at length getting better; but I must have patience, and, for the present, submit.

I am here in the house of a kind friend, a clergyman of this town, in whose conversation, and among whose books, I have the best possible aids for attaining convalescence. I am not sure that even this favoured country could have afforded me a more suitable situation. Forgive me for this disagreeably protracted egotism—or, rather, to follow the French mode, *egotade*—for, if I do not misunderstand them, they use the termination *ade*, when they mean to express greatness. I should have used their language in another instance—instead of *situation* (at the conclusion of the last sentence but one) I ought to have said *séjour;* for it is but a transient residence, from which, if I am able, I mean shortly to pass over to Dublin. If there be any kind of matter in which you could make use of me there, I need not tell how ready I should be to do my utmost in executing your commands—but, alas! what is my utmost?

I had a letter a few days ago from my friend Mr. Hawkins Browne, in which are these words:—"I felt myself extremely obliged to Lord Castlereagh for his very polite introduction of himself to me in the House of Commons on the auspicious 22nd of January. I was much charmed with his manners and address, though so stupid as not to know till afterwards that I had the honour of conversing with the person whom I consider as the second political character of the age, and what other is there that has produced a Pitt and a Castlereagh?"

Now, my dear Lord, if I did not believe, indeed was not sure, that you have far too much solidity to be discomposed by such individual eulogiums as this, I would make a scruple almost of conscience to mention it; but, knowing that your ballast is equal at all times to the gales which may swell your canvas, I should think it a pity and a default not to tell you what a worthy, conscientious, sensible, well-informed, and independent gentleman said and thought of you. He is a man I should wish to know and regard you, for he is a man of principle. He is a little odd and starched in his manner, but he possesses solid sense and goodness, and much liberal information. He is also an excellent country gentleman; he is not without hereditary distinction, being the son of one of the first geniuses in his day.

Mr. Wilberforce wrote to me a few days ago, desiring I should give him my opinion about the Irish Catholic question. I told him plainly what I thought—which certainly is—that until the Roman Catholics are equalled with the Protestants, disaffection in Ireland must be the popular temper; and that, now every real difficulty has ceased, inasmuch as complete equalization can be only that of individual with individual, the remotest possibility of collective ascendency being for ever done away. I observed farther, and indeed somewhat dwelt upon it, that an increase of political privileges to the Catholics of Ireland, in the present state of things, can imply no possible danger, because they have no longer any dangerous sphere of political action, nor can look forward to any inordinate political object—it being obviously impossible for them, by any effort at combination, to form a counterpoise to the decisive preponderance of a Protestant empire. How far these sentiments may agree with the present views of the British Cabinet you know, and I do not, nor do I inquire; but I humbly think they are the views of common sense; and if any paltry, petty consideration of discontent among Dissenters at home prevents their being carried into execution, it will be, I conceive, an exemplification of the old proverb, "penny-wise, pound-foolish." The disaffection of the majority of Irishmen must ever imply alarming weakness in the British dominion. It holds out (why need I say this to you?) a ready-formed enginery for our foreign enemies to make use of—and will not Buonaparte feel this? Possibly you will differ from me, but I most seriously think the Test law in this country to be the very feculence and dregs of obsolete, house-of-Stuart policy, and that it is it which makes Dissenters disloyal, far more than it guards against their disloyalty. It does not guard. They are in possession of corporations in spite of it—Bristol, for instance, one of the next to the metropolis. The annual Act to indemnify non-compliants is an annual acknowledgment of its inefficiency. But it is efficient in irritation. It is just like a clog, hung, as I have sometimes seen, about a dog's neck to keep him at home, which did not prevent his running where he pleased, but only made him every now and then growl and grumble, and bite at it. I would not, however, wish to see even this altered, until it could be done so as to appear completely gratuitous; for, in my political judgment, it is better an evil should remain than that the turbulent should have the slightest room to think that they had contributed to its removal.

But to return to Ireland. An additional reason is suggested to my mind by a letter I received this day from a worthy and intelligent man, why the Roman Catholics of Ireland ought not just now to be trifled with. It is believed—and no rhetoric will overcome the persuasion—that Dublin is at this moment suffering aggravated distress from the want of the usual concourse. Now, you know well how much of the Catholic (Directorial) strength is in Dublin. I am well aware no promise has been made them; but Mr. Pitt's speech, and Lord Minto's, and others, held out to them what was morally equivalent. If they now see themselves trifled with, what may not be the consequence? Did you read Lord Dillon's letter? There is a firebrand! I trust the Irish Catholics will not be left in the hands of such incendiaries.

I shall trouble you with but one observation more. I am well aware how much the distinct Parliament contributed to keep up disaffection; but I am strongly persuaded that, if disaffection be still kept up by other sufficient means, the want of a local Parliament may become not an advantage, but a real grievance to the empire. I take it that one reason among others why an Irish Parliament was first thought of was, because the disturbed state of that country required the presence of prompt and plenary power. Existing circumstances generally lead, by a law of Providence, to their suitable remedies. Accordingly, we see that, in the infant state of society, while men were rude and turbulent, governments were many in number, but limited in extent; but, as society improved, they fell into one another; because dangers, multiplying from without, required combined force to resist them, and, at the same time, being, from increased civilization, lessened within, local regimen became less necessary. Let this, then, be made the case with Ireland; let the causes of internal discord be removed, and what you have achieved will remain on record as the completion of British strength and British happiness; it will stand forth as the striking keystone of a strongly combined arch, which once lay scattered in fourteen or fifteen portions; but which, though successively brought together, wanted the complete character of unity, until the late grand measure was effected. But, to ensure the effect, the parts must be internally united, to themselves individually, as well as externally, with each other. When the Rebellion actually commenced, the presence of an Irish Parliament was not without its efficacy. If rebellion be kept alive, (and alive it will be kept, until every degrading circumstance be removed from the Catholics) even the Union, calculated as it is for both local and imperial benefit, may become the source of irreparable mischief both to Ireland and the empire; because disturbance will as much as ever require summary means of suppression, but those means can no longer have the same sanction as was given them by a resident Parliament.

Pardon this effusion, which I write in the integrity of my heart. May your Lordship and my kind friend Lady C. be always happy!

Your Lordship's ever faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

Considerations for the Catholics, on Mr. Pitt's Retirement from Office. By Lord Castlereagh.

Mr. Pitt and his friends retire from office at the present conjuncture for the following reasons:—

1. Their strong and unalterable opinion, that a system of comprehension is essential to our future policy, in order that the empire may derive from the Union all the advantages of which it is susceptible.

2. Because, under this conviction, they have for the last two years suffered the Irish Catholics to form a strong expectation that their hopes, in the event of the separate Legislature being done away, would be gratified; in contemplation of which the Union received their support, and thus made it impossible for the King's Ministers, without being guilty of a breach of faith in spirit, if not in terms, to lend themselves to their disappointment.

3. They have been precluded from postponing the decision, and consequently the disunion connected with this question, to a period of less public difficulty, from perceiving the resistance on the part of the King too decided to admit of any hope of accommodation, and also from finding that it had led to steps on his Majesty's part which could not fail to render the administration, in the intermediate period, weak both at home and abroad.

Such were the grounds on which Mr. Pitt thought it his duty to retire. The same sense of public duty, which would have determined him to delay his resignation till a period of peace, could the Administration have been united, effective, competent to its functions in the mean time, and could he have avoided any well founded imputations of duplicity towards the Catholics, decided him, having so retired, to lend his assistance to his Majesty in forming a Government of men who were likely to conduct the Administration on similar principles with those he had pursued on all other points, and thus give the country, as he thought, the best means of surmounting its present difficulties.

With reference to the public security, Mr. Pitt's conduct seems to stand so far on strong grounds; it remains to be considered what has been, or is likely to be, the ultimate effect of it upon the fate of the question itself upon which the difference has arisen, and, next, what line of conduct it is most becoming in Mr. Pitt and his friends, under all the circumstances, hereafter to pursue. If Mr. Pitt was right in his principle, that this was a question on which the Crown must not, and could not be forced, without losing all the expected advantages from the measure; and, if he was founded in his judgment, which perhaps may admit of more doubt, that the King would not have yielded, had the difficulties attendant upon his decision been suffered to operate in their natural force; if, from these considerations, Mr. Pitt was of opinion that the point could not be advantageously pressed at the present moment, we must nevertheless feel that the final consequence of his prevailing on his friends to take a part in the new Administration, formed on the avowed principle, at the least, of stopping the question for the present, must be to diminish the numbers of its avowed supporters, and consequently to weaken it essentially in the public opinion. He has also delivered over a number of weighty persons to the opposite party, who may commence their career with some reservation as to the principle, but who, from influence, persuasion, habits of resistance, particularly if their administration acquires any stability, may gradually become determined opponents, and resist the measure hereafter in its full extent, as connected with their own power.

In the first place, it seems contrary to the principle on which Mr. Pitt acts, justifying, as he does, the system of exclusion with reference to the times in which it was adopted, and particularly with reference to Ireland as a separate country, by a pledge to deny the possibility of such a recurrence of circumstances as would, consistently with the views with which he now supports the question, make it his duty to continue the laws of exclusion, if unrepealed, or even re-enact them, if they had ceased to exist. The above is an objection arising from the many principles on which we profess to act.

Two other objections may be stated, in which the pledge would be inconsistent with public duty, and in no degree auxiliary to the measure; and a pledge subject to such a charge would be deservedly unpopular, and in its effect must weaken the cause it was intended to support. 1. The public danger might be such as to demand his services, and the circumstances such as to enable him to give them with effect, without compromising the measure, or his own conduct upon it. 2. The preponderance of the public sentiments, from various circumstances—partly power circulating steadily in that channel, partly increased apprehension of innovation, partly misconduct on the part of the Catholics, partly a change of circumstances both at home and abroad, rendering it of more dubious policy—causes of this nature may render the measure unattainable, and its prosecution inconsistent with the public interest. Should such a state of affairs *bona fide* exist, and the Government of the country require the assistance of Mr. Pitt and his friends, reserving the full latitude of his opinion on the question as it then stood, and his right to act upon it at a seasonable moment, there could be no public reason to preclude him from taking office. There might be a feeling of authority which might indispose him to lend himself to public affairs under such circumstances, but this is unconnected with a conscientious adherence to the measure in a constitutional sense.

The above objections apply on grounds of general public duty, or on grounds of consistency, with reference to the particular principles on which Mr. Pitt at present supports the question. Considerations of policy towards the measure all tend the same way. Although Mr. Pitt is now out of power, if he means to adopt the best means of carrying the question, he must make himself the centre of a party.

Mr. Pitt has two lines to take on the question: the one is to profess his adherence to it as a question upon the necessity of which his opinion is made up; the other, is to give an additional unqualified pledge that he never will accept office, unless he is enabled to propose and carry the question. Before the latter course can well admit of consideration, it seems necessary to ascertain with precision what the measure is, in favour of which the pledge is to be so given. As yet the details of the plan have never been settled, nor have the precise grounds been determined on, which may be considered as equivalent securities to the Church. This is equally necessary, with a view to the discussion of the question in Parliament.

With respect to pledges in general as to future public conduct, there can be but one opinion—that they are highly unconstitutional and objectionable; they proceed upon an admitted distrust, either between a party and the public, or between individuals of the same party. As they go to supersede all discretion connected with ulterior circumstances, they frequently involve those who are bound by them in acts which their judgment at the time disapproves, and generally detract from the weight which the same line of conduct would otherwise carry with it, in proportion as it is considered to be the result of necessity, and not of choice.

The only two grounds upon which an exception to the general principle can be entertained with reference to the present transaction, must arise either from a supposed necessity of placing the motives upon which the parties hitherto acted beyond the reach of suspicion, or, with a view of establishing such an increased influence over the Catholic body as may enable you to guide their conduct with more effect during a period of public danger.

As far as the Catholics look to the Legislature for relief, I think the pledge in no degree necessary to give Mr. Pitt and his friends the full extent of their influence over that body. Were it his line to press the question to a decision under the present unfavourable circumstances, and to consider the decision of the Legislature as binding on his conduct, they might then conceive he had retired from office merely to disembarrass himself of an inconvenient pledge; but, if his course is to urge the question in argument, keeping open the decision till a more favourable moment, and if he has felt it incumbent on him, under the impossibility of bringing that measure forward, as a Minister, to retire at so very critical a moment from the King's service, I think the most suspicious Catholic will hardly suspect him of betraying his cause for that situation, which he has resigned rather than abandon it.

If such a pledge is unnecessary, in order to obtain influence for a beneficial purpose, it certainly is much less justifiable, with a view of convincing the world that Mr. Pitt has been actuated alone by considerations of a public nature, and those of the highest description, in prevailing on his friends to lend themselves to the new arrangement. A doubt may be entertained whether he has not thereby injured the question, in consulting the public security as well as sacrificed his own power; but no person can attribute it, when coupled with his resignation and proposed line of conduct, to an interested or unworthy motive.

If the exceptions in this particular case are not of insuperable weight, there are many considerations which ought to be well weighed, before the general principle of avoiding an unqualified pledge ought to be departed from. But it is further to be observed that a pledge, so far from giving influence, may, in fact, diminish it. Those who are subject to it become rather the slaves than the directors of the Catholics.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Cornwallis.

Secret. London, February 9, 1801.

My dear Lord—Having nothing to add to the general facts stated in former letters, I have hitherto postponed writing, in order that I might the better be enabled to explain to your

Excellency the shape which this transaction was alternately likely to assume.

Mr. Pitt, from a conviction, I conclude, that the King's mind could not give way, and seeing the danger of the State falling into the hands of Opposition, has used his utmost influence with his friends to lend themselves to the new arrangement, from which, I suppose—but this is merely supposition—the conduct of the new Government will rather be to evade than to negative the question on the principle. Mr. Pitt will take the first opportunity of the question being regularly before the House, to state his opinion at large upon it; but he does not think that it will be expedient either with reference to the success of the question itself, or the predicament in which the King stands, for him to press the measure under the present circumstances. The inclination of his mind, after having argued the question, is not to vote at all. He is of opinion that to try the question now would only pledge people against it; that we should have no chance of success in the Lords; but a still stronger reason operates on his mind for not so pressing it, which he particularly desires that I may represent to your Excellency, namely, the conviction that, were the question carried in both Houses, it would be deprived of all its benefits, and the King would, at all risks, refuse his assent. Under these considerations, it is his wish that your Excellency, without bringing forward the King's name, should make the Catholics feel that an obstacle, which the King's Ministers could not surmount, precluded them from bringing forward the measure whilst in office; that their attachment to the question was such, that they felt it impossible to continue in administration, under the impossibility of proposing it with the necessary concurrence, and that they retired from the King's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to the ultimate success of the measure; to represent to them how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct; in the mean time, that they ought to weigh their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter; that they may naturally rely on the zealous support of all those who now retire, and of many that remain, when it can be given with any prospect of success; in the mean time, that Mr. Pitt would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and thus prepare the way for its ultimate success; but that they must distinctly understand that he would not concur in a hopeless attempt at this moment to force it; and that he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

This will give your Excellency the outline of that communication which he thinks himself alone authorized to make to them; to look to any specific time to which they might attach their hopes is so indefinite and so delicate a consideration as your Excellency will feel is scarcely to be touched upon. From what has already passed, the prospect of a change of sentiments on the part of the King seems too hopeless to be held out in fairness to the Catholics as any solid ground of hope, and his death is that solution of the difficulty which all parties must equally deprecate. The prospect is, therefore, not very encouraging in itself; but, unpromising as it is, we must endeavour to make them feel that *their* particular interests, as well as their duty, will be best consulted rather by a temperate and loyal conduct, than by giving way to the feelings connected with disappointment and despair. Such are the principles which we must preach; I wish it were reasonable to expect that they would be implicitly acted upon.

With respect to yourself, Mr. Pitt is fully alive to the painful task imposed upon your Excellency during the remainder of your abode in Ireland, particularly should it of necessity continue beyond the period of the change on this side; but this, he trusts, will not be of long duration; and, little doubting what your Excellency's feelings must be on the whole of this case, I have impressed on his mind, that, in justice to you, the Irish part of their arrangements should not be protracted. In urging this, I have not less consulted my own feelings, as I shall not incline to remind a single individual on the Treasury Bench after those with whom we have acted retire from it.

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With sincere regard, most faithfully yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Pitt has seen the first part of this letter. As I foresaw that circumstances might delay his writing, I was anxious that your Excellency should not remain longer in ignorance of his sentiments, as it may enable you the better to break this business to the persons most interested.

Mr. Cooke to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Dublin, February 10, 1801.

My dear Lord—I find, from your Lordship's letter, that you are angry with Lord Castlereagh, which I lament, because I think you are not founded in it. When Lord Castlereagh was called upon to give his sentiments with respect to Ireland, he could not avoid stating what, on reflection, he conceived to be the best permanent system of policy to be adopted in a country of Sectarists. This statement he could only submit to Ministers, and he could not disclose it till he had authority from them. This is the true reason why he could not consult your Lordship at an earlier period. In the line he was, he could not, with propriety, make communications till he was permitted to do so. I am certain your Lordship will see Lord Castlereagh's conduct in its true light, as far as his personal feelings to you are concerned, which I know to be most cordial, respectful, and grateful; and if he has to lament his differing from your Lordship on a great line of policy, upon which the future security and happiness of the Empire rests, it would be hard that your Lordship should embitter that circumstance by any suspicion or jealousy which he does not merit.

As to myself, I cannot help endeavouring to make up my mind upon the public subjects in which I am engaged, however my situation may be merely subaltern, and that *thinking* ought perhaps to make but a small part of my duty. I have also been so particularly involved in the politics of Ireland for the several last years, have so often lamented the wretched fickleness and versatility of policy with which this island has been rather distracted than governed, that I have felt an inconceivable pleasure at seeing at length a period arrive when a permanent system must be brought forward and a settlement be made, and when I see the power of the Constitution able to make it.

God forbid that such nonsense as what is called sentiment and fraternity should be the guide of my opinions! I look to long established principles and long established power—the established principles of the British Constitution, and the power of that Constitution doubled by the Union. I think those principles so manifestly good, so thoroughly proved both by reason and experience, and I think the numbers and the property which profess and maintain them so eminently and incalculably superior to everything in the shape of dissent or hostility to it, that we need no longer act on the jealous policy of division and separation. I think that admitting the Sectarists to civil equality is not only compatible with the security of our Constitution, but that it must increase that security; because, without giving the slightest addition of power to those Sectarists, it will disarm their enmity, and may possibly produce their attachment. This is the general result of my consideration of the subject, and I feel myself fully prepared with details to support what I submit.

I have looked at the Union as the greatest possible measure for the British Empire, because it gave that Empire power to satisfy all the fair demands of all its subjects without the slightest danger to its own security. I lament the struggle which, I see, will take place; but I have no doubt as to the ultimate issue; and all, I trust, is that the contest will be maintained with discretion and moderation on both sides. If I might make a request to your Lordship upon this subject, it is that you would view it not merely in its abstract nature, nor in those remote and possible consequences which a fertile invention can imagine, but that you will fairly and candidly consider what has been already done, and irrevocably done, for the Sectarists, and how little, and of what little importance, in fact, remains to do. The question is whether, after the Catholics have been admitted to all offices but a few, to the army, to the navy, to grand juries, to the elective franchise, it can be of any consequence to shut them out from the capacity of accepting the higher offices, and from sitting in Parliament.

I conceive that no man who considers all the circumstances of the British Empire, and admits that it is *safe* under the present state of concessions, can make a legitimate conclusion, *in point of fact*, that it will be endangered by yielding those two points. And this is the whole of the argument: for mere principles that either have no consequences, or consequences improbable, remote, and speculative, are to be entirely set aside in political argument.

When Ireland was a separate country, I was adverse to conceding the right of the elective franchise. I saw the power it inevitably gave, the claims which would arise from that power, and the danger resulting to the Establishment, which was not supported by one seventh of the subjects of Ireland. Possibly, if the question was with respect to the elective franchise, I might hesitate *now*. But, *that* being irrevocably conceded, I consider that, since the Union, the further concession of the two remaining points is completely unimportant as it respects the power of the Catholics, but of the highest importance indeed, if the concession of what must be so trivial in effect will give permanent satisfaction, will extinguish the principle of demand, attach three millions of subjects, make them friends to the Constitution, and make the Irish frontier an impregnable barrier to Great Britain, instead of being the perpetual object of alarm, terror, and danger.

I beg a thousand pardons for obtruding so much upon your Lordship, but I feel that you have so much kindness for me that it is my duty to state the reasons for my difference, when I venture to dissent from him with whom I have scarcely ever differed before.

The extent of the argument in favour of concession, the popularity of all the topics connected with it, the infinite benefits which *may* be hoped for, if contrasted with the small increase of power which it can confer, and the impossibility of any danger arising from it, make the question, in my opinion, irresistible.

Look for a moment to the Dissenters. They can hold all offices, and have all power, civil and ecclesiastical, in Scotland. They can hold all offices, and be members of Corporations in Ireland, and they can sit in Parliament. But they are excluded by Tests from holding offices and being members of Corporations in England.

But what is the fact as to the Dissenters? Do you find that they refuse to take offices in England? The reverse is known, and they are merely excluded from certain Corporations, where their taking the Sacrament would be watched from the motives of party. How then does this question narrow itself in fact? It is merely this:—Shall the Dissenters be capable of voting in three or four Corporations in England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed?—for they enjoy that capacity already in Scotland and Ireland. Will such a capacity endanger the British Constitution, or will it affect it in the minutest degree? How dangerous are the Scotch members? I have asked myself this question: Do I think the British Constitution would be endangered, were five or six more Dissenters to sit in Parliament than sit there at present? My answer was an inward smile. I have asked myself if a dozen Roman Catholics were to sit in the Imperial Parliament, and a few more to hold good offices on account of their good conduct, do I think the Empire would be endangered? One smiled at the question.

I cannot, for my soul, see this subject at present in any other light. The principle of the Constitution is not *exclusion* as an *end;* but exclusion has been used by the Constitution as a *means* to preserve it. Of late years, in order to maintain the Constitution, this principle has been relaxed. If it can exist without the principle, it should be parted with altogether.

Surely the Church establishment is sufficiently secured by the guards enacted in the two Unions, if Acts of Parliament could be guards; but the real guards of the Church establishment are the honest belief and firm attachment of nine or ten millions of subjects, together with its own reasonableness. I look to the great and prevailing preponderance of numbers, property, sentiment, situation, power, and argument, as our true and substantial safeguards; and I look to them alone as a sufficient and adequate protection. I also consider that neither the Presbyterian nor Catholic sect are new and rising, but ancient and decaying sects; that their enthusiasm (at least, among all the higher and educated orders) is worn out, and that civil equality would produce in them a greater indifference to their respective creeds, and make them safer subjects.

I think the Democratic madness has greatly spent itself, and that the two sects are attached to the principles and forms of our Constitution, and merely oppose from the circumstance of being excluded.

I look to the temper of Ireland. I am persuaded, from everything that I can collect, that the Protestant mind is made up to acquiesce in concession to the Catholics. I speak of the mass, certainly with individual exceptions of high importance. At the same time, I fear that, if the banner of

Protestantism were displayed, the Orange spirit would show itself in an almost universal blaze.

I think again, that the Catholic body are indulging a hope of concession; that they are forming a suitable temper to meet it; that they are making preparations to show themselves loyal and to deserve confidence. I am afraid that, if the door is to be shut against them inexorably and *for ever;* if they are to be excluded at once from present participation and from future hope; that sullenness may return, and the lower classes be *again* left loose to the disaffected.

In the decision which is to take place, the question will not be of expediency as to time, but of *principle, during the existence of the Constitution.* The debate will be, *not*—"Is concession to be made now?" *but*—"Is it ever to be made?" This makes me tremble. And those who shall, at this moment, pronounce an eternal interdict against concession, and give a negative to the claims of the Sectarists upon a principle which is to be irrevocable and eternal, will do well to consider the state of Europe, the circumstances of the Empire, and the growing change of public sentiment, before they venture a *final* sentence. I hope and pray that, if resistance is to be made, some contrivance will be introduced so to mask the question as not to exclude the possibility of hope, and that those whose duty it will be to enforce tranquillity will have some argument left them by which they may mollify discontent and recommend acquiescence.

One word more. I think concession risks nothing, and denial risks everything. I think that denial can give nothing, and that concession may gain everything. The public mind here is at yet totally unacquainted with what is going on; therefore we are quiet.

&c., &c., &c.

PS. Your Lordship may show this to Lord Auckland, as he has a friendship for me.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Dublin, February 11, 1801.

My dear Lord—I find the Chancellor (Lord Clare) still indignant with you and Lord Cornwallis, for, as he says, "deception." I have written to him again very strongly, and requested he would explain himself candidly to me, as I was sure he had misconceived you. He seems to be in a violent mood.

All right here. It seems as if the King was likely to recover soon: in which case, I suppose, the new Ministry will come forward. My sentiments I have explained: if the game of putting an extinguisher on the whole question is to be played, I wish to be allowed to retire; if postponement is alone to be urged, and the principle left open, I certainly could remain. What I fear is, that debates will soon, from the weakness and evident incapacity of the new people, grow warm, and from the surmises which must arise from what has happened.

Therefore, on the whole, I should like to retire when I can be of no use; yet, if a moderate line is to be played, I do not absolutely press it, though I wish it.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. Cooke.

I send my abstract, but I fear it is illegible. If there are any points on which you wish for a detail, I will do my best. If there are any documents which you think necessary, I will have them selected—such as copies of the Oaths. The point of marriage I have said nothing upon.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 12, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have just received your letter, dated the 9th, and most highly approve of the judicious and publicspirited line of conduct which the late Members of the Cabinet have determined to pursue. Mr. Pitt may be assured that no endeavours shall be wanting on my part to tranquillize the public mind, and to avert those evils which the disappointment of the Catholics would be so likely to produce.

I am, with the greatest regard,

CORNWALLIS.

The Right Hon. Thomas Conolly to Lord Castlereagh.

Castletown, Friday, February 13, 1801.

My dear Lord—I never received a letter in my lifetime that gave me so much real uneasiness and vexation as yours of Monday last.

The safety of the Empire, at all times of imminent danger, depends upon unanimity at home: with that you could defy the combined world; but, without it, France, without fleets of her own, will, by those of the combination, *conquer peace* from England, as she did from Austria by the divisions in that unfortunate Cabinet.

The success of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland will be tarnished, perhaps for ever marred, by the division of your late Cabinet, which will be construed many ways by the interested politicians, and will, believe me, prevent Buonaparte from treating with England upon admissible terms.

Many will say that the change in the newspapers is not a real change, but the present apparent Ministers are only deputies to the former ones; and it will be considered abroad as a juggle, and therefore contemptible. I am old enough to know that we attack with tenfold vigour an enemy we despise.

The Catholics of Ireland best know what was promised to them by those in power; and what was promised should be faithfully complied with. Such a promise, however, should have been ratified by the person at the head of the Empire before it was made, and, if then agreed to, as it ought, there could not *now* be any dispute about it. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

Let who will govern, whatever of life remains to me shall still be devoted to keep the ship together. Though I have suffered much of late here by the repeated acts of murder, treachery, and rebellion, that I so often told Lord Cornwallis and yourself I was sure were the seeds of disappointed ambition, suspicions of broken faith, and great audacity on the part of the present inveterate Jacobins here, my surprise at these events is less than my lamentations—but God's will be done!—and I am as light-hearted as any man can be with such a melancholy prospect for the close of my days. But Minister or no Minister; you will find no alteration in the friendship and regard of

Your truly affectionate uncle and friend,

T. C.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 14, 1801.

My dear Lord—So much of my time was taken up yesterday in attending Christ Church, that I was under the necessity of desiring Littlehales to inform you of the steps which I had taken respecting the Catholics, in consequence of your letter dated the 9th. My advice and exhortations were perfectly well received by Dr. Troy, as well as Lord Fingall; and both of them will, I have no doubt, exert themselves to keep things quiet. But any person must be of a sanguine turn of mind; who can expect a calm of long duration?

With respect to my continuance here, Mr. Pitt will, I am persuaded, give me credit for not wishing to embarrass matters from any selfish motives, at a period when the assistance of every good subject is required to save the country from destruction. But, in order to be able to render any essential service, it is necessary that I should pay some attention to the consistency of my own character, which must materially suffer if I should linger for any length of time in office, under the administration of men, who have come into power for the sole purpose of defeating a measure which I consider to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Empire.

The new Government, if such it can be called, has not hitherto been very successful in recruiting, and the general opinion seems to be that it must very soon be dissolved in its own weakness.

Yours ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 16, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have by this mail sent a civil official resignation to the Duke of Portland, adding that I did not mean to express an impatience that could cause embarrassment to his Majesty's service.

Mr. Pitt has undertaken a very delicate and difficult part: it will require all his abilities to get through it with credit to himself and utility to the public. I apprehend that a certain personage will be more difficult to deal with, since he finds that he can exercise a *veto*.

I heard that the Chancellor (Irish) talks a very absurd language about our not having imparted to him what was going on about the Catholics: I neither felt an inclination nor a right to make any communication on the subject, before the Cabinet had formed an opinion; and you could certainly have no right to trust him with my secret correspondence without my permission. His speech has made a great agitation here; but I hope to succeed in preventing any petition to the King, or address to myself, on the part of the Catholics.

I have written in great haste.

Yours most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Secret. Dublin, February 16, 1801.

My dear Lord—I fear what your Lordship fears, that every effort will be used to misinterpret Mr. Pitt's conduct; and, unless he acts with all his influence in the discussion of the question of concession, he will subject himself to the imputation of a double game. He may wish, and rightly wish, not to force the question: but, if he wishes its ultimate success, he must take care that all its friends declare broadly for the principle, however he may suffer some to hesitate as to pushing it at the moment. I think you will see the necessity of such a line of conduct: otherwise, if I know mankind, there will soon an attempt be made to show that an administration can be formed without him, and a new coalition will be soon forced.

I had another letter to-day from the Chancellor, angry at being, as he says, kept in the dark. I have again written to him in the same tone as before, saying you could not communicate before you were authorized; and assuring him that no promise of any kind or hint of a promise had ever been made to the Catholics. Every man has his *verve.*

I inquire into general sentiment as much as possible. The common insinuation is that Mr. Pitt's going out now is a trick, a German quarrel. I state explicitly, and perhaps more directly than I ought, what is the real case. I endeavour to collect sentiments as to the Catholic subject. I can find no man of common sense and temper who does not think the concession may be safely made. In short, as far as I can learn, the public mind was made up to concession. I except Sir R. Musgrave, Duigenan, Giffard, and a few Orangemen.

You do not tell me—perhaps you do not know, perhaps there has not been time to know—what is really the public sentiment in England: I mean, that public sentiment which generally sways and governs England.

I know not whether it is meant to give any activity to the press, or whether to guide its tone: both, I think, of the utmost consequence.

The Catholics will, I think, behave well; but it will be from a conviction that fairness is intended to them; and they will judge of this by the exertions which shall be made in the discussion of their claims. I hope that even no *right* motive will suffer their friends to be led into a conduct which can be suspected of insincerity.

All bodies of men, all administrations, are the same. Vanity, ambition, interest, will predominate. The new Administration will take advantage of present forbearance to establish themselves as early as possible: their object will be to show they can walk alone. They will consider the forbearance of their *adversaries* (or what shall I call them?) as a proof of their own abilities, and soon construe it into impotence. Beware of Utopian systems: they will not do.

His Excellency gave the Escheatorship to-day to Daly. John Ponsonby is to come in for Galway in his room.

Let me repeat that I think it essential to Mr. Pitt's character that he should make it a condition that no man should be displaced for his conduct on the Catholic question. If he does not, I do not see how his conduct can be defensible to the public.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Dublin, February 18th, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have delayed sending over my memorandums of engagements till his Excellency would give me his Church Budget—but to-morrow you shall not fail to have mine, which I would have sent to-night, but I have been kept at dinner with his Excellency at Sir G. Shee's.[1]

I do not hear of any mischief brewing yet. The world still conceive there is something ulterior in Mr. Pitt's conduct.

Lord Shannon told Lees a friend of his had a letter the other day, from Vienna, which says, before this reaches you, Mr. Pitt will have resigned. This is an odd coincidence. You must not mention the fact, or allude to it.

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[1] Created a Baronet of Ireland in 1794. He held successively the offices of Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, Secretary of the Treasury and Receiver-General in Ireland, and Under-Secretary of State in England.

I have no intimation what is the general feeling of England on the subject of concession to the Catholics. You may safely say, from anything I can learn, that it would be acquiesced in here by the Protestants.

Lord Glenbervie's speech pledges him pretty deeply in favour of the Catholics; he also quotes Dr. Duigenan.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. Cooke.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

Shrewsbury, February 19, 1801.

My dear Lord—I cannot refrain from again intruding on you, to thank you for your wonderfully kind letter. Little did I think, when I was writing to you, that such strange events were taking place. There were some expressions in Mr. Wilberforce's letter which suggested to me the idea of some sort of hesitation; but I never could have dreamed of what has actually happened.

It is almost impertinent in me to form conjectures, and more so to offer them to you, who have so good opportunity of knowing *facts*, while I can know nothing. But you will forgive me for mentioning my persuasion that there has been some *secret tampering*. There has a spirit become prevalent of late among the Bishops, exactly of the same kind with that which actuated their predecessors before the Revolution. The progress of Methodism has created an alarm for the safety of the Church, and they think their only security can arise from legal coercion. They are apprehensive that the full enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics would almost necessarily bring after it the repeal of the sacramental test as affecting Dissenters; and they seriously believe that this measure would *ipso facto* overthrow the Establishment. I can hardly doubt that your defeat has come from this quarter. The case could be so represented as to involve a matter of conscience. Such a representation would be a natural means for a Bishop to make use of; and it would of all others be the most likely to take hold of a mind at once religiously disposed and utterly unskilled in casuistry.

This has been the case. It is to be regretted that our late great statesman did not previously turn his attention to that very Test Law, examine for himself how far it rested on sound political grounds, and, if he found it (what I verily believe he would find it) to be not a defence, but an incumbrance and a weakness in the constitution, get rid of it with that courage and adroitness which he has manifested on not less difficult occasions. Had this been done—I ought to say, could it have been done?—the present demur would probably never have happened; and I fear, while the same difficulty remains, even Truth itself will be led in chains by Prudence.

I do not know whether you know—but certainly you ought to know—that the high-flying Bishops are strongly bent on new-modelling the Act of Toleration. They consider the present unconditional right of *all* Dissenting teachers to claim the protection of the Law has left an opening for an unlimited itinerancy of Sectarian adventurers, by means of which parishes have been intruded upon where there were no dissenters before—Dissenting congregations, formed out of stray sheep from the Establishment—and, consequently, the congregations at church sensibly and alarmingly diminished. To counteract this evil, it seems to be the intention to propose that no license shall be granted under the Act of Toleration hereafter, without specifying the congregation to which the person claiming it is to be appointed; and that, of course, the license shall give him a legal right to officiate in that congregation only. Such, I have reason to believe, is the plan intended by Bishop Horsley, Mr. Pitt's friend, the Bishop of Lincoln, and others of equal zeal. But to such a design nothing could be more contrarious than the enfranchisement of the Catholics: for, how could Parliament be expected, after having liberated them, to draw tighter restrictions round the necks of Protestants! Here, therefore, would be a superadded motive in a zealous episcopal bosom to put every engine at work to counteract what you intended. If you are not already acquainted with the fact I have now stated, I can only assure you that you may rely on its authenticity.

I believe I know more about the Dissenters in this country, and particularly of those who, on the present occasion, are chiefly pointed at (the Methodistical Dissenters) than most of my Lords the Bishops; and I take upon me to say that, if the disappointment of the Irish Catholics can be exceded in madness, their design goes even beyond that. It is an established fact that, however the Dissenters may differ from each other in theology, they never fail to make a common cause where either their present immunities are questioned, or they have new ones to pursue. But, since the accession of the House of Hanover, nothing ever was attempted concerning them that would more electrify their whole body than such a restriction as that proposed.

I take the liberty of enlarging a little on this subject to you for two reasons—first, because it will probably—rather, *certainly*—come before you one day in Parliament, and a little previous knowledge of particulars will do you no hurt; secondly, because it is not entirely unconnected with your own object, if my conjectures above are at all founded.

The largest body that can be classed with Dissenters in this kingdom are the Wesleyan Methodists, who certainly, for the last ten years, have been assuming more and more of the Separatist form. They are, to be sure, but a small part of the whole mass of Dissenters, though I believe they are the most numerous among their many denominations. They have about ninety thousand regular adult members, who are in full connexion with them; and their children, grown up but not yet received among them as of their society, together with their stated hearers, who like their doctrine but don't chuse absolutely to submit to their rules, are probably twice as many more. This last may be overrated. The plan on which they are formed implies more regular compactness and a closer connexion of the different congregations or societies, than, I suppose, is found in any other large body of the religious kind; and though they are zealous for their principles and indefatigable in making proselytes, yet they are not disposed to be bad subjects. They revere the memory of their founder, John Wesley, who was loyalty itself; and, if not provoked into disaffection, and, still more, if taught to think that Government were still as liberally disposed towards them as it was formerly, I do think and believe that they would, from their closeness of incorporation, be more capable of serving Government in the country than if they were mere members of the Establishment.

Now, were the plan of these warm prelates to be adopted, this whole body would be absolutely set mad. Their existence depends on *itinerancy*, and to illegalize this would reduce them to the dilemma of either setting the law at defiance, and incurring a general persecution, or of dissolving their whole system. I know well what I state, and I am confident this would be their sole alternative. But I am assured of more: *they would persevere in violating such a law, let the penalty be what it might.* They would resolutely go to prison or to banishment, man by man, before they would relinquish their plan, the necessity of which, they conceive, is proved by the experience of sixty years.

Now, would it be wise, in times like these, to reduce any class of people in the community, suppose them not a third of the number, to so desperate an extremity? Let it be remembered, too, that these people are scattered over every part of the kingdom; and, as they are frequently instruments of reforming notorious profligates, and are, for the most part, themselves remarkable for decency of manners, sobriety of conduct, and regularity of life, they are often respected in their neighbourhood as worthy, well-meaning people. How, then, would even the impartial public feel at seeing so unoffending a body so helplessly crushed by law? How would the whole mass of the Dissenters feel, who would not only be apprehensive of still more violent coercions, but who, even from this coercion, would suffer sufficient inconvenience, to induce them to make a common cause of it? And what would be the final consequence? Why, after the utmost possible exasperation, after all the evil that could, would, be done, the execution of the law would be found impracticable, from the very number and perseverance of the culprits.

It seems as if the statesman and the bishop were at all times, at least in our country, incompatible characters. I know some of that class in Ireland, and I presume they are nearly of the same fabric here; but, much as I regard most of those I know for some amiable quality or other, and a few of them for many truly valuable ones, I must ever deprecate their playing the politician; for, their nervousness about their own order, their frequently entire ignorance of the world, their whole habitudes, both previous and present, make them of all political cobblers the most inexpert, the most perplexing, and the most pernicious. In their own proper places, in their studies and in their churches, and in all the social intercourses of life, I honour them and I like them; but I would they could feel the proverb, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

The truth, however, is, that Dissenterism is increasing. But what is the cause? It is that which religious coercions never can remove. Man is a religious animal; and religious anxieties are ever taking place in one and another. This occurs more frequently than a view of the outside of society, or an intimate acquaintance with only the higher and more fashionable ranks of it would lead to believe. And, let me add, that existing circumstances—the downfall of States, the apprehension of still greater changes, the humiliation of the Papal power, and a prevailing idea (for Dobbs[1] is not altogether singular) of the approaching completion of prophecy—have tended to excite such anxieties in the middle and downward ranks of society much beyond lately preceding times. But the consequence of such anxieties almost uniformly is, that they who feel them grow cool to the Church, and attach themselves to the Methodists, and for this plain reason, because the preaching of the established clergy, however rational it may be, is generally cold and inanimate, and the preaching of the Methodists, whatever other imperfections it may have, is comparatively all life and fire. This latter suits the lower ranks particularly, who can *feel*, but seldom can *reason;* and it attracts all, of even more knowledge, whose minds are excited in the manner I have mentioned above. This I take to be the real cause of the increase of sectaries. And how is this to be remedied? By no means, I conceive, but an increase of zeal, not for penal laws, but for a more animated and interesting performance of duty in the bishops and clergy; not by railing at sectaries from the pulpit and the press (a practice of late too much taken up, for this really increases the evil), but by vying with them in earnest, affectionate (which by no means implies enthusiastic) addresses from the pulpit, and by a pious and beneficent conduct in the different movements of life. These are the weapons by which alone the battles of the establishment can be successfully fought. Penal statutes once overturned it already. May God preserve us from them, and deliver us from what remain!

If the question should come forward, there is one regulation which would imply no coercion, nor any material trouble, but which, I think, might prevent any real evil that is preventable—that is, that hereafter, when any one claims a license, under the Act of Toleration, he should be obliged to state in his memorial what particular persuasion he belongs to, and at the same time produce a testimonial, under the hands and seals of at least four known and regular ministers, or teachers, of that persuasion, declaring that they have examined into his character and qualifications, and approve of him as a teacher in their communion. And, that it might be done with as much certainty as possible, I would have it required of all the different religious denominations respectively, that they would appoint yearly in each district (they forming the districts as convenient) six of their body as recommenders for licenses; and that a return should be made of those persons, together with their handwriting and seals, to the Clerk of the Peace for each County, to remain for the information of the Justices of Session, so that they might not be imposed upon by forged testimonials.

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[1] Francis Dobbs, a native of Ireland, barrister-at-law, and at one time a member of the parliament of that kingdom. He was the author of several publications, chiefly of a political tendency; but, in the later years of his life, seems to have taken up visionary and mystical notions, (and among the rest a belief in the near approach of the millennium) which he laid before the public, in 1800, in an octavo volume, entitled, "A General View of the Great Predictions in the Sacred Writings that have been fulfilled, that are fulfilling, and that remain to be accomplished."

The advantages of such an arrangement would be that private unauthorized adventurers, who now can have a license to preach by paying a shilling, would be stopped—that what Bishop Horsley has stated of Jacobin missionaries going about as preachers would be rendered impracticable—that fanaticism and wildness would be restrained, inasmuch as none could then legally preach except those for whom the character and credit of the whole religious body to which they should belong would be publicly staked. It would also be an advantage to those religious bodies themselves: it would prevent the scandal arising from unworthy persons assuming their name, and enable them to exercise a more effectual discipline; for which purpose I would add that licenses must be renewed yearly, so that each religious body would have opportunity of silencing any they disapproved of, merely by refusing a testimonial.

My poor head is still afflicted, notwithstanding this long letter. Would you approve of any publication on the subject of Catholic enfranchisement, should I be able to execute it? I need not, I hope, tell you that I would do it soberly and cautiously. A line in answer to this last point is all I wish you to trouble yourself with, and I am ever, &c.,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, February 23, 1801.

My dear Lord—Shephard is arrived, and, if I can point out anything, I will, but I see nothing at the present moment.

The Opposition here are angry and chagrined at Mr. Pitt's taking up the Catholics: they say, however, it is a humbug on his part, and that he does not fairly mean to do his utmost in the question, and that, after making a mock battle, he will come into power again and leave them in the lurch. I hear that, as he has taken up the subject, they mean to give it him entirely. This is fair game; for, as the new Ministry will do everything to show the entire inexpediency of concession at any time, if Mr. Pitt does not push the subject with all his force and all his friends, the Opposition will fairly argue that conduct to be insincere which enables the adversaries of concession to consolidate their strength, and which adjourns the contest till the question can be resisted with security. Nothing is so difficult as to play a refined game in politics. The person who plays it is never understood, and is soon deserted.

General Nugent tells me that at least 266 are calculated upon as in favour of concession, exclusive of the Irish members, and I think, with common exertions, they would vote 64 for concession out of the 100.

Be assured that, if Mr. Pitt does not so act as to make it demonstrative that he is really serious on the Catholic question, his resignation will be attributed to other causes, which, at this juncture, may be so fairly imputed. If I were to suggest the line of action, it would be that Mr. Pitt should do his utmost to obtain the most decided expression in favour of concession, and then not to press further at present, but to leave the moment for the concession to be postponed till certain feelings were prepared for it. There are many false rumours spreading here of the measures intended. It is circulated, that not only Catholics were to be put upon equality with Protestants, but that the tithes were to be purchased by Government, and the Catholic clergy to be paid with a part of the sale of the Protestant tithes. I have just seen the Bishop of Cloyne. He seems to be terrified at the idea of the concessions, but, when I explained to him the extent of them, his alarm began to go off.

I could not help writing, as I have done to-day, for I saw a letter from England which gave me much alarm lest the part to be taken by Mr. Pitt and his friends would be perfectly unintelligible to the common world.

Your Lordship's most sincerely,
E. Cooke.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 23, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have great hopes that we shall keep the Catholics perfectly quiet, and prevent all addresses and petitions, notwithstanding the irritation which Lord Clare's speech in the House of Lords has occasioned amongst them. It was provoking enough to have it asserted that 99 in 100 did not care a jot about their privileges; but, when this assertion was made on the authority of a conversation with Dr. M'Nevin, and a self-acknowledged traitor is supposed to speak the language of all the Catholics of Ireland, it is too much to bear.

Bruce told me that George Ponsonby said yesterday that he had heard a letter of mine read in the Four Courts, containing a pledge to the Catholics: I suppose it was one of those papers containing heads of the arguments which were recommended to the principal Catholics to be employed in keeping their brethren quiet. I assure you that I have written no letter, and that the papers which you saw were given only as private memorandums, and cannot involve Government in the most distant degree.

I am, with great regard, &c.,
CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, February 25, 1801.

My dear Lord—I received your letter to-day, though written on Thursday, so that, if you put it in the post the day you wrote, I ought to have received it two days ago. It came by the mail of Saturday. Marshall is arrived, but I have not seen him.

The giving the Catholics a written document was unavoidable, for fear of misconception. The first paper was drawn from your letter; the second his Excellency took from Mr. Dundas. They contain no stronger assurances than Mr. Pitt's and Lord Grenville's declarations in Parliament; nothing more can be made of them than of those declarations, nor are they more nor are they less subject to comment. His Excellency thought that Lord Fingall and Dr. Troy would make sad mistakes if they had not a written document. It has succeeded—it will succeed entirely, unless the Protestants break ground; and, with two such prudent leaders as Lord Clare and Dr. Duigenan, we cannot long expect that peace will remain. I request your Lordship will study the subject, and neither spare yourself nor any one else. You have staked your all upon it, and you must show yourself a man, and that you are capable of removing mountains. I trust also you will take care to have an accurate note taken of what you say, and then you will correct and publish it.

Corry took over with him all the necessary parliamentary documents which are generally called for: I of course suppose he would not use such *finesse* as not to tell you all he carried with him: and you can get them from him at any time.

I think you would do right to get an account of the Presbyterians of England, their general number, their comparative weight and number in particular boroughs, and their probable effect in them, should the Test Act be repealed. You would then narrow the question, if your information authorized you; of the possibility of their acquiring power in seven or eight boroughs. They will deal against you in general: you must beat them by particulars.

Ever most truly, &c.,
E. Cooke.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Secret. Dublin Castle, February 27, 1801.

My dear Lord—Your news was very melancholy, but we are not to despair, but to exert ourselves. Lord Cornwallis, I believe, feels very acutely; he, of course, will act as becomes him. He received to-day a letter from Lord Hardwicke, announcing his appointment. It is written very sensibly. He says he has accepted upon the principle of pursuing the same system with Lord Cornwallis of general conciliation; that on *the* question his mind is not made up; that he wishes for Lord Cornwallis's opinion; that he thinks, if it will do good, that proposing it immediately after the Union was the best time, as it would probably procure temporary good behaviour from the Catholics. He then says he shall perform all Lord Cornwallis's engagements. He says he shall tell the Catholics fairly they can have no hopes but from their good behaviour. In short, his letter says the question must now be postponed; but he will not commit himself against the principle.

Elliot, and Archdall, and Corry, will be elected. The state of politics has determined his Excellency to postpone Singleton.

I find that I am an object of observation in the new Cabinet.

They attribute much to my interference. They do me honour. This is, I suppose, the fruit of my letters to Lord Auckland and Lord Clare. But I hear they impute to me the making of communications to the Catholics, and promises of concession, without warrant. Here they wrong me. For I never had any communication at any time with any Catholic on the subject of concession, until Mr. Pitt declared his intention to retire, and until that moment I never communicated with a single Protestant. The first communication I ever had was by letter to Lord Clare, in answer to one from his Lordship.

I enclose a good letter from M'Kenna. It contains the whole truth, "that Great Britain can only hope for the continuance of the connexion from the improved mind of the Catholics."

I enclose the real state of Dr. Duigenan's case. He has sailed. By the by, his election is void.

It appeared to me, when I was in England, that there was an unfair game playing against the Cabinet. There seems to be a little Court Windsor party that were always irritating the . . . . always endeavouring to make him form opinions of his own, to make arrangements and appointments without the advice of his Cabinet, and who used every sinister artifice and low flattery for the purpose. This set must now highly plume themselves upon having fretted his mind at this crisis to take a decision against his Ministers. At the same time, it is a point on which prejudice in the strongest minds is insurmountable.

There was a respectable ball last night at the Castle, and it went off well.

I think this additional event will confirm the Catholics in steadiness.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. Cooke.

Secret.

By way of keeping a certain mind from irritation, Lord Clare has sent over for a complete set of the Irish Parliamentary Debates. Could he not have sent for them without intimating whom they were for?

Mr. M'Kenna to Mr. Cooke.

Usher's Quay, February 25.

Dear Sir—As to the question at issue, surely it never stood so fair and so respectable. Every man of sense must see that at present; but every Catholic, of sense or not, will be more warmly interested in the matter by this delay and this controversy. They are, besides, taught to raise their eyes beyond Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby, to great statesmen, men of honour, who are above leading them into faction. This, in my judgment, is a great deal gained for the country, and for the principle of British connexion. And, after all, the connexion must rest on the improved mind of the Catholics. All the habits of Ireland that do not lean to Catholicism have a strong puritanical bias, with the standing exception of a certain rank which now will every day diminish, and the casual exception of men of education, or those influenced by Government—politically puritanical, I mean, which is more important, more formidable, than if it were merely religious. Look familiarly into the middling country gentlemen of Ireland; it is wonderful how much they still retain of that restless temper which filled England, when their ancestors emigrated here, and which broke out from the same cause and origin in the Revolution of America.

THEO. M'KENNA.

The Rev. Dr. Black to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Londonderry, February 28, 1801.

My Lord—The anxiety which I felt at having no reply to either of my last, was mitigated by the entire confidence I repose in your Lordship. I beg to return my warmest thanks for the kind manner in which you notice my humble assistance in the proposed arrangement for the Presbyterian clergy.

I deeply lament the circumstances which led to a change of his Majesty's Ministers, in common with every liberal and thinking man in this country. My only consolation is a hope that their successors will observe a wise and enlightened policy suited to the awful circumstances of the times. With respect to the particular measure to which your Lordship alludes, I know not how to contemplate its failure without a kind of terror for the consequences to this province, and of course to the kingdom and empire. And I do entreat your Lordship to represent to those with whom a decision on it now remains the severe inconvenience to which such failure must subject those men in the Synod who have exposed themselves to popular and jacobinical hatred, for having supported his Majesty's Government.

It is needless to point out to your Lordship, who are so well acquainted with our unhappy divisions, the loss of influence which loyal Ministers will sustain, and the complete ascendency which men of a different description will acquire, should those engagements not be observed which were made in the name of the late Administration. Policy, justice, generosity, compassion, all concur in soliciting encouragement and protection to men who devoted themselves by falling in with the views of Lord Cornwallis's Government. Be you, my Lord, their advocate, and they will be cherished, and in their turn they will strengthen the State which nourishes them.

I make it my earnest request that your Lordship will inform me, without loss of time, of the disposition of the Cabinet on this subject; and let me further entreat your Lordship's advice how I shall act on this trying occasion. I trust I never will give way to unmanly complaining; but I protest my situation is uncomfortable beyond description—my heart daily sinking at the uncertain answers I am constrained to give to the many worthy men who placed a confidence in me, and were influenced by my opinions.

You will perceive, my Lord, that this letter is written under very agitated feelings—I could not conceal them if I would—forgive them, and be assured of my unshaken confidence, attachment, and esteem.

Robert Black.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke.

Private. London, March 2, 1801.

My dear Cooke—Several of the Irish members, but particularly Colonel Fitzgerald of Cork, have brought forward strong statements, before the Corn Committee here, of the distresses of the lower orders in Ireland, on account of the high price and scarcity of provisions, more especially where the people have mortgaged their labour for land to plant potatoes on; the crop, which has failed, leaving the individuals without food, and without means to purchase, as but a very small proportion of their wages is ever paid in money. These representations have produced a strong sensation, and made the British as well as the Irish members anxious, if possible, to do something to assist a country which has not an established system of Poor-laws to carry it through so extraordinary a pressure.

With this view, we have determined to apply to Parliament to extend to Ireland the same system of bounties that prevails here; but, as the market price in both countries is now considerably above the price which is secured to the importer, (on wheat 100*s.* per quarter) the measure will be inoperative in either country, unless the markets should fall below the standard, and till then the supply from abroad will distribute itself according to the market price which can be obtained for it, which is highest in Great Britain. The difference of wheat is about one-sixth; oats very nearly as high in Ireland as in England.

I explained, in as quiet a way as I could, the steps taken by Government to secure a limited importation on its own account. The doing so was not disapproved, but of course cannot be publicly avowed.

Let me know how the quantity already ordered stands. I believe the whole is Indian corn and rye. A proportion of rice, which is excellent with the milk which the poor can obtain in the spring, might be of use. Perhaps it is too late to have an order executed abroad; in which case we must purchase as cargoes touch in Ireland.

Many proposals were made for giving direct relief in money. County assessments were proposed, advances by Government, and various other schemes, which appeared to stand on very dubious principles, to be impracticable in their execution, and all going to take upon the Legislature and the State the responsibility of providing for the poor, and so far discharging the affluent from all their present charitable exertions, while none of them afforded any reasonable assurance that Government, with its utmost exertions, could effect as much as is now done by individual charities.

The only proposal which seemed at all plausible is contained in the enclosed Resolution, and I am directed by the committee to submit it with their recommendation to the Lord-Lieutenant. As they are unwilling to hold out any definite expectation of relief, it seems to them more expedient, that the proceeding should, in the first instance, be taken up on the authority of Government, rather than that Parliament should express an approbation of it, before the Government was prepared to act. They conceive that a proportionate assistance given in aid of the local charities will extend the relief, without depriving the poor of any assistance which would otherwise be given them; that such a measure will encourage local associations, and that the contribution, on the part of Government, being calculated and payable alone upon the funds actually collected, it will not tend to relax local exertions.

A further check may be secured by requiring all associations praying for aid to specify the proposed mode of relief and the principles upon which they intend to act; to be under the superintendence of the minister and churchwardens, or magistrates of the respective parishes, and to give security, if required, for complying with any instructions they may receive.

I conceive the directors of the House of Industry (receiving hereafter a compensation for their trouble) might be made a useful board to receive and digest such applications, to give the best direction to the application of the funds, by pointing out the most approved modes of relief, and might ultimately audit their accounts, to be certified on oath, upon the amount of which the issue from the Treasury should be struck and ordered.

If this suggestion should meet his Excellency's approbation, perhaps the judges might be directed to explain the measure to the several counties in their progress. In doing so, they would have a favourable opportunity, as well of encouraging the gentry and affluent to make exertions to assist the poor, as of impressing the people with the solicitude of Government to relieve their distresses at this period of scarcity. Should the measure thus suggested meet with the Lord-Lieutenant's approbation, and a Parliamentary sanction be thought desirable, which at a proper moment I think it would be, as soon as I understood that the details are arranged and the whole ready for execution, I can have little difficulty in assuring you of receiving the necessary authority from hence.

Resolution of the House of Commons for Relief of Public Distress in Ireland.

Committee Room, House of Commons, February 27, 1801.

Resolved—That it may be expedient for the Lord-Lieutenant to issue such sums of money out of the amount of the vote of credit voted for the service of the year as to his Excellency shall appear to be necessary for the purpose of aiding such voluntary subscriptions as may be raised and expended in those places where the distresses of the lower classes of people and the high prices or scarcity of food may require such local aids; and that such issues should be in such proportion to the subscriptions actually paid and expended, and under such regulations, as to his Excellency shall seem meet, provided that, in no case, the aid from Government shall exceed one third of the amount of the subscriptions.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Dublin Castle, March 3, 1801.

My dear Lord—I am sorry Lord Cornwallis's declarations make so much noise: but, if he had written nothing at all, the matter would have been more liable to misrepresentation. The first paper, which is copied from your letter, has too much possibly of seeming party manœuvre in it: yet the real object was to prevent the Catholics being made the dupes of party, and to induce them to aid Mr. Pitt in supporting the King's Government till the opportunity should arise for effecting their objects with advantage and with royal concurrence.

The second paper I never saw till it had been delivered. It certainly was going too far to make any pledge as to future conduct. At the same time it was unnecessary; for, to suppose that men who, at such a crisis, had given up their situations upon a principle of honour, because they could not bring forward the measures they thought necessary for the preservation of the empire—I say, to suppose that they could again go back as Ministers, without those measures being conceded, is absurd; it is supposing them destitute of sense, principle, integrity, honour, and even self-interest.

Musgrave's dedication of his performance to his Excellency hurts the Catholics amazingly; but how could his Excellency prevent any man dedicating his work to him?

I think all still must come right. I am sure the superiority of Mr. Pitt is so strongly felt, that no Ministry will like to act without him. You can hardly form an idea how the public mind had come round to allow of concession to the Catholics.

I have been writing to my friend Reeves,[1] who has published a silly pamphlet on the Coronation Oath. He thinks it partly an oath of the Legislative, partly of the Executive. I ask him where he got his casuistry. I ask him what he makes of the proviso in the two Unions, which allows the Test Oaths to be altered, if it is truth and law that the King cannot consent to such alteration?

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[1] John Reeves, Esq., appointed a Commissioner of Bankrupts, and, in 1791, Chief Justice of Newfoundland. After his return from that island, he held the appointments of Law Clerk to the Board of Trade, joint

I think you want a prudent publication. Pray make Elliot write something; he is capable to do it well if he chooses. I will send him materials. Why should he be idle?

Ever yours, &c.,
E. COOKE.

I hear they say that Lord Fitzwilliam's pamphlet and the Consular Manifesto were nothing to his Excellency's Circulars. The only difference is—they were to inflame, his to compose—they were to excite opposition, his to produce support—they to excite a party for the overthrow of the Administration and the separation of the two countries; his to connect the Catholics with those who had formed the Union of the empire, and whom no difference of opinion could separate from assisting his Majesty's service.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, March 3, 1801.

My dear Lord—In answer to the queries stated in your Lordship's letter to my Lord-Lieutenant, of the 26th, his Excellency has directed me to enclose to you the statement

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Printer to his Majesty, and Superintendent of the Alien Office. The pamphlet alluded to by Mr. Cooke was entitled "Considerations on the Coronation Oath." In 1792, Mr. Reeves was mainly instrumental in forming the "Association to protect Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers," which met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, and which powerfully contributed to rouse the spirit and patriotism of the nation to counteract the revolutionary principles which the Corresponding and other political societies were at that time assiduously propagating.

which accompanies this letter, and which has been prepared according to his Excellency's directions.

I am ever, &c., E. COOKE.

Memorandum of what passed at the Interview between the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Fingall, and Dr. Troy.

When it was notified to the Lord-Lieutenant that Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Lord Camden, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, had requested permission to retire from his Majesty's councils, upon their not being sanctioned in bringing forward such measures as they thought essential to secure to the empire the full benefit of the Union, the most important of which measures was a concession of further privileges to his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, his Excellency conceived that it was expedient that the Catholic body should have an authentic communication upon a subject so deeply affecting their situation and sentiments, and so calculated to influence their future conduct.

His Excellency had long held it as his private opinion that the measure intended by those of his Majesty's Ministers who were retiring from office was necessary for securing the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain. He had been, however, cautious in his language on that subject, and had studiously avoided any declaration to the Catholics on which they could raise an expectation that their wishes were to be conceded. Through the whole measure of the Union, which was in discussion for two years, and during which period every effort was made to procure a resistance to the measure on the part of the whole body of the Catholics, no favourable assurance or promise was made to them. Their judicious conduct, during that trying period, confirms his Excellency in the opinion that every measure tending to secure their attachment to the empire in future, which they had in this instance so essentially served, ought in true policy to be attempted. His Excellency did therefore recommend it to his chief secretary, who was engaged with his Majesty's Ministers in the course of the summer in England, to second every disposition for effecting the object of the Catholics. At the same time, he retained a prudential reserve towards the Catholics during the progress of the discussions of the Cabinet.

His Majesty having approved of the solicitation of the majority of his Majesty's Ministers to retire from his Majesty's councils, and his Excellency having requested that his Majesty would extend to him the same indulgence, it became a matter of public duty for his Excellency to explain to the Catholic body the sentiments which had been held with respect to them, and to indicate the line of conduct which, in this arduous crisis, it became them to pursue. His Excellency, therefore, being apprized of the sentiments held by Mr. Pitt, on the 13th of February, sent for Lord Fingall and Dr. Troy, and gave them two papers, to be by them circulated among the principal Catholics in different parts of Ireland. The first, his Excellency felt assured, corresponded with Mr. Pitt's sentiments; and the other conveyed his own private sentiments, founded on the speeches and conduct of many of the most eminent characters of all parties and distinctions.

It being of great importance that any communication made by his Excellency should not be misunderstood or misinterpreted, and that it should make a due impression, and produce a general good effect, his Excellency preferred a written to a mere verbal communication, which might have been ill reported, and might have been subject to perversion, according to the inclination or the capacity of those who should circulate and receive it.

His Excellency has seen a happy result from this mode of proceeding. Rumours having been transmitted from England that the wishes of the Catholics were likely to be acceded to, every ill consequence from their disappointment has been obviated; and there is now every reason to believe that they will take that line of conduct which the well-wishers to his Majesty's service, and the service of the empire, could desire.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, March 3, 1801.

My Lord—Various events, which it is unnecessary for me to state, having rendered it impossible to apply to Parliament for the renewal of the Act for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, so that it could pass within the time limited for its duration, which expires within a very few days, your Excellency must be sensible that the traitors from Ireland, who are confined in Fort George, under the powers given to the King for that purpose by a clause in the Act above mentioned, will be entitled to require to be remanded to Ireland, until they can be conveyed to the dominions of some power in amity with his Majesty, according to the terms which were granted them by your Excellency on their confession of their guilt.

I therefore do myself the honour to acquaint you with the steps which the peculiar circumstances of the occasion have made me judge it necessary to take; and, in order to save your Excellency as much trouble as possible, I shall herewith enclose a copy of the letter which Mr. King has written by my direction to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, together with a list of the papers which have been transmitted to him relative to this subject.

The persons who are confined in Fort George solely under the authority of the Act for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act will, of course, be entitled to obtain their discharges, on application for that purpose to the Court of Justiciary, and your Excellency will therefore not be surprised at hearing of their return to Ireland.

I must not, however, omit to apprise your Excellency, that it is intended that a Bill should be brought into Parliament as soon as circumstances will permit, for the further renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and, from the favourable account which has this day been received of his Majesty's health, I trust that this measure will not be long delayed.

I am, &c., PORTLAND.

Mr. King to the Lord Advocate of Scotland.

Secret and Private. Whitehall, March 2, 1801.

My dear Lord—As this letter refers to one which you will already have received from the Lord Chancellor, I have only to observe that the books and papers contained in the written list would have been sent to you on Friday last, but in the course of that day a decision was formed, (which has been this day overruled) namely, to re-enact so much of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act as relates to the Irish prisoners in Scotland.

The shortness of the time, (for our judges have decided the commencement of the Sessions to have taken place on the 22d of January) and the unfavourable accounts of the King's health to-day, have decided Government to leave the matter where it is, and rather to have recourse to sending the prisoners confined in Fort George back to Ireland by a Secretary of State's warrant, if finally it shall be necessary, than to bring in the Bill I have mentioned under all the present circumstances. Enclosed is the warrant for removing them to Ireland, to be made use of as your Lordship may think necessary. The messenger to whom it is directed is the one who will deliver you this letter, and he is instructed to put himself under your orders. He is, of course, ignorant of the within warrant. In case the result should be such as to render it necessary to send the prisoners to Ireland, (a circumstance which, at all events, it is desirable to protract as long as possible) the Duke of Portland requests you will be so good as to give both the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and himself the earliest notice of it, in order that his Excellency may signify to what port he would have them carried, and make such arrangements for disposing of them on their arrival as he shall judge necessary.

I am, &c.,

J. King.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, March 3, 1801, half-past 3, P.M.

My dear Lord—I last night received your letter dated the 27th, and a few minutes ago of the 28th; the latter contains comfortable encouragement respecting the King's situation. As it was my audience day, I desired Cooke to write fully to you on the subject of the papers, and I enclose a few lines which may be more easily communicated, and which, in fact, contain every essential explanation. The papers have produced no ill consequence here, but, on the contrary, have done a great deal of good. I trust, when their merits are candidly considered, they will at least appear harmless, and they certainly commit no man of either party further than he has already committed himself.

Yours ever, &c., CORNWALLIS.

In order to prevent the mischief which the disappointment of the expectations of the Catholics might have occasioned at this dangerous crisis, I delivered to Lord Fingall and Dr. Troy two papers, to be by them circulated amongst the principal Catholics in different parts of Ireland. The first, I was assured, stated correctly the spirit of Mr. Pitt's declaration; and the other conveys my private sentiments, founded on the speeches and conduct of many of the most eminent characters in the kingdom, of all parties and descriptions. A verbal communication would have been liable to much error and misrepresentation, and could not have been diffused to any efficient purpose. The papers were given as private memoranda, and have been attended with the best consequences, for the preservation of the tranquillity of the country.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, March 7, 1801.

My dear Lord—It gave me very sincere satisfaction to find, by your letter of the 2nd, which I received yesterday, that

Mr. Pitt understands the papers that were delivered to the Catholics precisely in the sense in which I explained them in my letter, and the paper transmitted by Cooke on the 3rd instant.

I conceive that, without the communication of any papers, every man must have felt that neither Mr. Pitt, nor any of the Ministers who resigned with him, nor Mr. Fox, &c., could take a share in an Administration (formed under no peculiar exigency of the State) without bringing forward the Catholic question. The greater and more immediate danger will naturally claim the first attention; and many circumstances may, and, I am sorry to say, are too likely to occur, in which it would be highly criminal in those gentlemen to refuse their services.

I perfectly agree with you that, either in the case of a Regency or of the King's recovery, the question must sleep. God knows, we have difficulties and dangers enough before us; and I have seen so much of the uncertainty of naval bombardments, that I do not feel very confident that we shall be able to destroy the Northern league by our expedition to Denmark.[1]

In the mean time, the Catholics are quiet, and our Protestant friends do not appear to be offended at any thing that I have done.

Yours, my dear Lord, most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Dublin Castle, March 7, 1801.

My dear Lord—Did you ever get a letter from me upon Mr. Addington's speech? I long to know, for I fear about my correspondence. By the by, Addington must be a weak man—Anderson has lately received a letter from his friend Boyd, the great money-lender. He states to Anderson his having had an interview with Addington. Addington, *àpropos de bottes*, introduced a conversation on his accepting the place of Minister: he said he was a real friend of Mr. Pitt, but entirely independent of him; his measures might be approved by Mr. Pitt, but they would still be *his own;* and when Mr. Pitt differed from him he should take his own line. This was all very foolish. Anderson and Boyd were clerks together in the same house.

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[1] Lord Nelson, in the destruction of the Danish line of defence before Copenhagen, and the consequent breaking up of the Northern League, soon showed his Excellency what may be accomplished by British seamen, under a daring and skilful leader.

Most truly,
E. Cooke.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, March 7, 1801.

My dear Lord—I received your Lordship's letter, &c., as to provisions, and have answered part of it officially. There is real distress; more, I believe, from price than actual scarcity. The soup-shops and House of Industry do much in Dublin, but the streets are crowded with beggars, and there is infinite distress in the parishes. In Drogheda, Belfast, Waterford, Cork, the distress is extreme, though the exertions of individuals have been very laudable.

In Kildare, Meath, and Louth, and in parts of the North, there is very great pressure. Your reasoning is, first: Any quantity of corn is almost useless at the present prices. Reduction can only be by a redundant import of foreign corn, to be retailed at low prices, which may bring down the price of grain at home: or, by purchasing home corn at the general current price, on a joint charitable stock, and selling it out at low rates. The latter method is alone practised at present: it assists the poor, but it encourages the farmer to keep up his price. The plan proposed by the Committee will assist in continuing this mode of relief. I enclose a paper, stating the information you require, as to our importations and orders. The reason that rice was not ordered this year arose from the great loss upon this article. The loss on Indian meal was trifling.

The 9000 ton which have been ordered, supposing each pound will make two pounds of food, make only twelve days' provision for four millions of souls, at one pound each.

The Lord-Lieutenant purchased about 1000 barrels of Indian meal, the other day. We could do very well, if you would permit us to buy any chance cargoes of meal or rice. We would not touch flour. The way we are obliged to buy is at the Liverpool market price of the day; and it is then necessary to retail the meal at a low price, otherwise the poor cannot reach it.

I understand private banks are doing mischief, and aiding the speculations in keeping up corn, and that mischief is doing by issuing small notes for silver currency. I wish you would point Parliamentary attention to these practices. The former is bad at Wexford; the latter in Kerry.

Ever most truly, &c.,
E. Cooke.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, March 16, 1801.

My dear Lord—I got by the express the account of the Martial Law debate, which you seem to have carried most triumphantly. The debate on Horne Tooke delighted me: it is a pretty specimen of what may be expected for some time when Mr. Pitt does not take the lead. We are in most anxious expectation as to the measures which are to be adopted—whether Addington's Government is to make an attempt, or Mr. Pitt to be re-established—or some coalition to be formed.

All is still very quiet here. Bellew hinted to Marsden that he thought an Address might be procured from the Catholics, expressive of their willingness to acquiesce in postponement of their cause. His Excellency seemed to catch at the idea—then hesitated—then began to catch at it again. I am against moving.

There will be addresses upon the King's recovery. The Corporation will address—should not the Catholics?

You seem to have had your Irish friends in good training. I think Opposition will be cautious how they clinch them.

Most truly, &c., E. C.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, March 18, 1801.

My dear Lord—I last night received your letter, dated the 13th, and read with great satisfaction the debate which took place on Thursday, on the Martial-law Bill, in which I think our Irish Members in general have done themselves much credit, and shown that they are not inferior in talents to their brethren with whom they are now united.

Our political prospect is indeed gloomy in the extreme; and Mr. A———— must be at least as weak as he is bold, to engage at all in such a business as he has undertaken; but folly can hardly be admitted as an excuse for his neglecting any means in his power to obtain for the public the services of Mr. Pitt.

From the tenour of your letter, I conclude that it will not be long before I may look for the arrival of my successor, and you will easily conceive that the interval will not be pleasant; and that the assurances that every thing is engaged, and that I am a bankrupt in respect to patronage, will not stop the mouths of hungry claimants.

Bellew, the lawyer, told Marsden that the Catholics of Dublin were perfectly satisfied with the exertions that had been made in their favour; that they saw that, under the present circumstances, they must wait with patience; and that, in the mean time, they were sorry to occasion so much mischief to their country, as the loss of the services of those great personages who were retiring from administration; and he thought that a general declaration to this effect might be obtained. I found, however, on inquiry, that the Catholics were not sufficiently connected to make it safe to trust to a general concurrence in this sentiment; that there were jealousies of Bellew's taking the lead; and, in short, that the attempt might possibly be attended with mischief, and disturb the present tranquillity; and I have therefore thought it most prudent to let the matter rest.

Most truly yours, CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, March 20, 1801.

My dear Lord—Carter, the private Chaplain, is come over. He is an innocent creature, and tells all he has heard. It appears that the Primate was a great card—was much consulted by the King—for ever with him, or in correspondence with him.

It seems the Primate did not approve the new arrangement; he thought it would not last. The King was of the same opinion; said it was done in a hurry. He wished that Pelham should have a leading place, and thought the Duke of Portland weak and of no use, and that he was governed by the Bishop of Meath, who was an unsound man.—This is curious.

He says the Archbishop of Canterbury was at first so nervous, that for ten or twelve nights he could not sleep, and that our Primate was daily with him, encouraging him.

He says the Bishops are afraid of Watson[1] only.

Duigenan, I find, is in great request. The Primate thinks him too violent.

These little points prove greater. I conceive the earnestness about Pelham arises from the Duke of York, and from the precise occasion on which Pelham went to Ireland.

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[1] Bishop of Llandaff, a prelate of distinguished abilities, but some of whose political opinions are supposed to have stood in the way of his professional preferment beyond the poorest See in the Church of England.

You find the King's Confessor is of as great consequence as in the best days of Popery.

Ever most truly, E. COOKE.

Lord Chesterfield to Lord Castlereagh.

Saturday, March 21, 1801.

Lord Chesterfield presents his compliments to Lord Castlereagh; he has the honour to enclose to him the Extract from the Journals of the House of Commons, which he mentioned to him at the Duke of Portland's.

Jovis 28 Die Martis, A. 1689 (Commons' Journal, vol. x. p. 69).
1° Willielme et Mariæ.

The Bill for establishing the Coronation Oath was read a third time.

A Proviso engrossed was offered as a rider to be made part of the Bill, which was read the first time, and is as follows: "Provided always, and be it hereby declared, that no clause in this Act shall be understood, so to bind the Kings and Queens of this Realm, as to prevent their giving their Royal Assent to any Bill which shall at any time be offered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the taking away or altering any form or ceremony in the Established Church, so as the doctrines of the said Church, and public Liturgy, and Episcopal Government of it be preserved."

A debate arose thereupon (after some interruption by a message from the Lords, &c.) The debate upon the Proviso was resumed, and the question being put that the Proviso be read a second time, it passed the negative, and the original Bill was passed.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, March 23, 1801.

My dear Lord—Four packets are due—so we are on the tiptoe here.

I find from Carter, the Primate's Secretary, that Mr. Pitt sent all your Catholic and Tithe papers to the King, on the 13th of September; that the King, in answer, expressed strong objections to the Catholic business; that Mr. Pitt mentioned the subject again on the 13th of December, and again on the 18th, when the King stated that, sooner than concede, he would part with his life, expressing the strongest regret on Mr. Pitt's decision to resign.—You recollect our idea that his Majesty had not been early consulted.

This accounts for Lord Loughborough's conversation at Weymouth, and for his Paper of Reasons.

I think you are indebted to me for all your *secret* information as to what passes in England.

My Lord-Lieutenant wishes to know whether you ever made any engagements as to King's Counsel, and what.

My Lord-Lieutenant has ordered Lees's son to be joined with him; Hatton to be Counsel of Accounts; Pennefather to succeed Hatton; Handcock to succeed Pennefather; and Ruttledge to be Navigation Counsel.

I wait for the packet, to write more.

There is no answer from the Duke of Portland about Tandy. His trial comes on on the 3rd.

No answer as to fulfilling engagements.

Pray think of Anderson's Memorial. He now applies for all his contracts to be doubled, as, he says, has been done by the British Post-Office.

The Attorney-General and Smith are very fidgety.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Hardwicke.

Private. Dublin Castle, March 27, 1801.

My dear Lord—As I am returning to a private life, the difference of a few days to me cannot be material. I request, therefore, that your Lordship will not hurry yourself inconveniently on my account. In the mean time, I shall remove to the Lodge in the Park, and put the Castle in order for your reception.

About the time that General Lake was named for his appointment in India, Lord Clanricarde, who had exerted his influence, which is considerable in the County of Galway, in favour of the Union, expressed a desire to be removed from the Scotch to the Irish Staff, and likewise intimated that he thought he had some claim to be considered in the line of office in this country. Seeing no prospect of my being able to gratify his wishes with respect to office in the civil line, I wrote privately to the Duke of York, to say that I wished to have an opportunity of obliging his Lordship, but that, as I did not know Lord Clanricarde as a soldier, I therefore could not venture to recommend him for the succession to the Mastership of Kilmainham, on the resignation of General Lake, which would be considered as a leading step to the eventual succession to the command of the troops on my departure, and left the matter to the decision of his Royal Highness, under whom Lord Clanricarde had served, and who would consequently be the properest person to determine on the question of his being qualified for that arduous situation. The Duke signified his approbation of Lord Clanricarde, who was, in consequence, appointed Master of Kilmainham, and looked upon as the future Commander of the Forces.

There is, however, nothing in this transaction that is in any degree binding upon Government; and I can on no account presume to recommend any officer, with whose military qualifications I am unacquainted. Without, therefore, entering into the merits of any individual, I shall only declare that I perfectly agree with your Lordship, in thinking that it is of the utmost importance that an officer should be appointed who stands high in the public opinion, and under whose command the Country would feel a degree of security.

The sole power and authority, both civil and military, must be vested in the Lord-Lieutenant; but he would not act prudently if he interfered with the Commander-in-Chief in the details of the Army.

The military patronage of the Lord-Lieutenant has always been one of the greatest grievances of the British Army. When there was a Parliament to manage, it might have been a necessary evil, but it was, at the same time, a cruel sacrifice; the disposal of Cornetcies and Ensigncies may put it in the Lord-Lieutenant's power to oblige the gentlemen of the country, and can be attended with no mischief; the patronage of the higher commissions, if any regard is paid to the fair pretensions of officers, will only prove an embarrassment; and it would, in my opinion, be much for the convenience of the Lord-Lieutenant, as well as for the benefit of the service, if he always consulted the Captain-General, or Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Britain, before he transmitted any recommendations to the Secretary of State. The execution of Martial law, under the Act of Parliament, must necessarily be vested solely in the Lord-Lieutenant.

Your Lordship will find Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales disposed to afford you every assistance in his power; and he has been so perfectly in my confidence, that he can give you much useful information. I have likewise no doubt, from the sentiments which you express, of the leading objects of your Government, that Mr. Cooke will readily consent to continue in office, and that you will derive the greatest advantages from his abilities, his experience, and his knowledge of the country.

CORNWALLIS.

Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Londonderry, May 30, 1801.

My Lord—On my return from the County of Armagh, I found your Lordship's kind and most consolatory letter of the 15th. Unwilling to obtrude upon your quiet, I put a restraint upon my feelings, and did not congratulate your Lordship on your escape from a crisis I still shudder to think of. Believe me, my Lord, that I did most heartily rejoice in that event, and that your Lordship's health and happiness is dearer to none (out of your Lordship's immediate family) than to me, who am the humblest but the most kindly treated, and most grateful of your Lordship's friends. Your goodness in thinking of me at such a time heightens the obligation I am under to your Lordship, and I trust you will live to receive proofs that my heart is not an insensible one.

It is my sincere wish that, if your Lordship's health is not so completely recovered as to enable you to enter with perfect ease on the detail of the arrangement previous to the meeting of the Synod, no further communication should be then made beyond an intimation from authority that it is the determination of the present Ministry to adopt the ideas of their predecessors. There is no man living so capable of settling the details as your Lordship, and I am most anxious that the appropriate honour should as little as possible be divided. They will one day procure you unmixed gratitude, when temporary heats and prejudices are no more, and when the happy consequences of your Lordship's extensive views shall be felt and acknowledged.

I learn that when your Lordship's answer to Mr. Bankhead on the subject of classes was known, all thoughts of further opposition were given up; but that a slight hope is entertained of impressing Lord Hardwicke's Government with the wisdom of gratifying the popular wishes on that head. The Synod meets on Tuesday, the 30th of June. Perhaps, on receipt of this, you will be ascertained whether the detailed plan will be ready by that time. I will watch every part, and be prepared to do anything that may be thought necessary. Should the arrangement be made by your Lordship, I would be quite at ease, confiding in your minute knowledge of the subject, and the great attention you have bestowed upon it.

If your Lordship thinks it expedient, I will go to Dublin prior to the meeting of Synod, and there wait your further instructions, which I will make the guide of my conduct.

Provided the detail be not already determined on, I beg leave to say that my sentiments of the inexpediency of appointing a Commissioner to sit in the meetings of Synod have become still stronger on reflection, and from hearing the sentiments of others. If that regulation were waived, the communication from Government might be addressed "to the Moderator and Ministers of the General Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim." Elders would then have no vote or deliberation, and the popular party would be much weakened, as the great majority of the Elders always vote on that side. At all events, I am decided in opinion that Government should offer their plan for acceptance or rejection merely; a body, formed as the Synod is, must ever be incapable of wise and unprejudiced deliberation on a measure which must disappoint the wishes and hopes of so many respecting their share in the distribution. It is very immaterial whether the detailed arrangement be laid before the Synod in June, or before a *pro re nata* meeting, or a few months after. If it could be prepared without hurrying or inconvenience before the regular meeting, it would be desirable; but your Lordship's ease and convenience should be a primary consideration.

On the subject of the Agency, I no doubt feel a very strong personal interest in wishing that Government should reserve to itself the appointment; but every wise man whom I have consulted, and many who have given unasked opinions, are satisfied that nothing but this can save the Synod from cabals and almost yearly contests—certainly, if I am not protected by Government, I will not hold the employment a second year. A character more congenial to the party is already nominated to supply my place so soon as the arrangement is settled. On this head I have already cast myself on your Lordship's goodness and protection.

With the most ardent prayers for the complete restoration of your Lordship's health, I remain, &c.

Robert Black.

Your Lordship will have the goodness to recollect the great importance which is attached, and very justly, to the attainment of a Charter for the Widows' Fund.

Grants to Presbyterian Ministers.

On the 30th May, 1699, William III. granted by his Letters Patent to *seven Presbyterian Ministers* and to their successors, for the use of the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of Ireland, £1,200 per annum, to be paid to them or their successors, or to the person the major part of them or their successors shall appoint during pleasure.

This grant was renewed by Queen Ann in 1702, with this difference, that she ordered it to be paid "in such proportion and to such Ministers as the Lord Deputy or the Lords Justices shall appoint or approve."

The next grant was in 1784, when his Majesty, having received the strongest assurances of the zeal of the Presbyterian Ministers for his person and government, and their determination to inculcate the same principles in their congregations, directed an additional allowance of £1,000 per annum, "to be distributed in such manner among such nonconforming ministers as the Lord-Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors for the time being, shall find necessary for his Majesty's service, and the good of his kingdom."

The last grant was made in consequence of an Address of the Irish House of Commons in 1792, and directs "that an allowance of £3,729 16*s.* 10*d.* per annum during pleasure be distributed among such of the nonconforming ministers of the northern department, by warrant from the Lord-Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors for the time being, in such manner as they shall find necessary."

Widows' Fund.

The Presbyterian or nonconforming ministers, composing the General Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim, have long since established a Fund for the benefit of their widows and orphan children. The capital of this Fund amounts at present to £13,000 and upwards, and is vested in a mortgage and other securities. For the further management of the same, together with the annual contribution of the ministers, it is desired that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant a Charter to the ministers as aforesaid, with the necessary powers given in such cases.

Please to advise whether such Charter can or may be granted, and, if it can, direct the mode proper to be pursued by the said ministers to obtain the same.

Lord Grenville to Lord Castlereagh.

Camelford House, June 1, 1801.

My dear Lord—I enclose some papers on the subject you mention, which, I hope, are those you wished to have. If not, I will immediately, on my return to Dropmore, make a farther search among my papers, and I have no doubt I shall readily lay my hands on those you want.

I am sincerely sorry to learn that it is not intended to pursue that part of the proposed arrangement which would have meliorated the condition of the lower Catholic Clergy, and would have made them, by degrees, a body of men more respectable in themselves, and much better disposed to the civil constitution of the United Kingdom than they can now be. I do not see that this matter is necessarily connected with the question of the Test laws, though I shall ever continue to think that to have done at once, and as a consequence of the Union, what must infallibly do itself in a few years, would have been true wisdom. To neglect the Catholic Clergy entirely, or to strive to depress them in their own situations, and in their influence with their flocks, must, I think, while so large a proportion of the Irish nation continues Catholic, be the reverse of wisdom.

I trust you are recovering the effects of your illness.

Believe me, &c.,
GRENVILLE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

London, June 17, 1801.

My dear Lord—I went to-day to the House of Lords, where the Martial Law Bill was debated. Lord Holland and Lord Carlisle alone touched upon the best line of opposition, viz., that while force was applied on one hand, a wise and conciliatory policy should be applied on the other. Lord Carlisle would not divide against the measure, out of compliment to Lord Carleton's speech. He made a handsome panegyric on Lord Cornwallis, and expressed his hopes that the measures recommended by him would be brought forward by Mr. Addington, who had pledged himself to Catholic Emancipation in his printed Speech on the Union. Lord Westmorland tried to call him to order, but imprudently, for it induced Lord Carlisle to read those parts of Addington's Speech which apply to the point. Lord Carleton, Lord Limerick, the Archbishop of Cashel, spoke reasonably well. Lord Longford surpassed my expectations, and expressed himself in favour of the measure on good grounds, with much point and neatness. The Duke of Leinster opposed the Bill on the principle that the common law had full effect at present, and alluded to the last Assizes at Naas, and said, "Nothing but Lord Cornwallis's attention had made it bearable." He said nothing which could be replied to.

I send you a pamphlet of M'Kenna's; he does not mean to publish it at present. There are some good thoughts in it. What shall I say to him?

I have sent for the work on Tithes you wrote about, but have not yet got it. I enclose to you Sherlock's famous pamphlet in answer to Hoadley. When you have read it, pray return it, for it is difficult to get a copy. I think his general argument to be unanswerably true. It is the same which was used afterwards by Warburton and by Dr. Balguy, who have written most sense on the subject; and, I conceive, not only is it the best but the most popular line to make the great argument brought forward by Churchmen in defence of the Corporation and Test Acts the basis for relaxing them.

What are his questions?

1. Whether it is lawful in any case to make laws by which some persons shall be rendered incapable of offices?—I answer, Yes.

2. Whether it be reasonable in the case before us?—I answer, It was reasonable at the time Sherlock wrote, but it is not reasonable now.

Sherlock wrote just after the Revolution, when the memory of the quarrels between Protestant and Presbyterian was fresh; when the latter not only pressed for offices, but for an extension of the articles of the Church, so as to admit them to benefices, &c. The case is now different.

It would be pleasant to look over all the laws relating to religion, which were passed since the Reformation. The Reformed Church—I mean, the Church of England—began by persecuting all other sects, and forbade the exercise of any religion different from the Established. They then tolerated the Protestant forms, legalized their places of worship, and enjoined the Sectaries to attend them. They, last of all, in the same manner, tolerated and legalized the Catholic worship, and *enjoined* Catholics to go to mass.

Presbyterianism has been established in Scotland. And the Presbyterian and Catholic worship are as fully legalized and as fully in a legal sense established as the Church of England at this day.

So long as the State merely connived at Sectaries, Conventicles, and Mass Houses, there was a fair ground for not allowing Sectaries to hold offices of trust. But when the State legalized Sectarian worship, and enjoined Sectaries to attend to their own forms of religion, it admitted that the religion of those Sectaries was not dangerous to the State—at least, it admitted that the legalizing Sectarian worship was less dangerous than a system of either persecution or connivance.

Will it not follow that, since Sectarian worship is no longer thought dangerous, it may also be safe to trust Sectaries with a capacity to hold offices of trust, at least, that it may be less dangerous to permit them to enjoy that capacity than to deny it?

But the Revolution was a final settlement. What has been done since that period?

1. The Act of Toleration to Dissenters has passed.
2. The Act of Toleration to the Catholics.
3. The Union of Scotland, which established for ever Presbyterianism in that part of the Empire.
4. The Septennial Law, made in the teeth of all the principles of the Revolution, but which has done more to secure the permanence of that settlement than any other measure.
5. The Union of Ireland.

I think these instances enough to rebut the argument founded on the Revolution.

Mr. Pelham kissed hands yesterday, on being summoned to the Lords; but he was not gazetted. I have in vain tried to see Mr. Pitt. King is gone out of town, his brother-in-law having died this morning. This is a fine lesson of patience to my nervous, irritable habit. Pray present my respects to Lord Cornwallis.

Ever most truly and faithfully,

E. COOKE.

PS. June 19.—I forgot to send my letter yesterday. I now send Thompson on Tithes, as well as a pamphlet in support of them.

I know not of any new news. Pelham's business was unsettled yesterday. I saw King to-day, who did not say it was settled.

You see they are finely floundering on Irish points in Parliament. Mr. Addington pays compliments to G. Ponsonby, is entirely setting up his lost character and authority. The members whom I see complain of shilly-shalliness and indecision. It does not appear that things can continue as they are. I think there will be an attempt in Ministry to strengthen themselves. It is rumoured that Buonoparte has insinuated their instability.

They are in Ireland in a scrape as to General Medowes. It was settled with him that he should be only Commander of all the Forces in Ireland, but not *in Chief*. Lord Hardwicke has permitted him to be given out in orders as *Commander-in-Chief*, and he has assigned his reasons, which seem to have been from the suggestions of Medowes.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Secret. Somerset Street, Sunday.

My dear Lord—I enclose a supplementary memorandum. My feelings are that it has a very bad appearance to see subjects of this nature brought forward in Parliament, so vitally affecting Ireland, and no Irish member taking the least notice of them. The people of Ireland must feel themselves neglected, and will lose their respect for their members, when they thus appear indifferent. I am confident Mr. Addington's speeches keep up the price of corn in Ireland materially. The growers and merchants of course think that the Minister does not speak lightly, and they keep up their corn on the speculation of British prices. My fears are that we are not yet ripe for an open trade: at least, such a measure would not be taken but upon full examination. I have suggested many objections which exist at present, and which can only be removed gradually.

I am sure Ireland, from the silence of her members, must feel her consequence declining, and think it of the utmost importance to maintain it, and to take care that her interests be fully discussed, and—will you forgive me for saying?—that, after the part you took in the Union, you are particularly called upon to watch over what is doing, and to prove that that measure is highly advantageous to her.

Ever most truly, E. Cooke.

Vansittart stated that there were only 300,000 quarters of barley consumed in the British distilleries. He took this, I believe, from a Report of the Committee of the House of Commons; but that Report stated that 500,000 quarters were used in the distilleries, which might be considered as equal to 350,000 quarters of wheat.—(Vide 6th Report.)

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, August 3, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have your Lordship's letter enclosing the Duke of Portland's, and will act upon it forthwith.

I will send your Rifle regulations to your Major. The alarm of intended invasion certainly increases, but I cannot conceive that the French are yet ready. After the equinox, unless peace be made, I should think an attempt certain from Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, Bordeaux, Ferrol, and Cadiz. I hope, therefore, you will finish your course.

I think you both right and happy in not thinking of politics. My situation is amusing enough. The exchange proposed, so reasonable, so beneficial to all parties, is apparently negatived. Lord Hardwicke is displeased with my not coming over, when he came, although he and Abbot had both declined to interfere in the business for which I went. His Lordship is also displeased that I did not mention to him my wish to go to England before such a proposition was made to him by Lord Pelham. Mr. Abbot is also naturally angry at my having expressed in London my disapprobation of his being made

Privy Seal. Of course, I am in no confidence whatever. This, however, does not give me uneasiness, and I do office business as quietly as you could wish.

Marsden also has taken it into his head to be affronted with me not having written to him before Lord Pelham allowed me; and he, for this week past, does not speak to me. I have seen some slender attempts to point at me.

The Chancellor is come back well. He is very angry at the arrangement for me being refused. Lord Pelham talked to him upon it.

I find from the Chancellor and Beresford that Lord Pelham means to be Minister for Ireland *himself*. What this idea may lead to is not easy to say. Watson will leave Great George Street, and go to him. By the by, I have lost all good will to that office[1] since you left it. You thought me wrong for wishing to retire; but I had been a little while only in London before I saw what would take place. I think I was not very imprudent to ask Mr. Pitt to get me out of the harness—though I asked in vain.

I think the country, as to quiet and rebellion, as well as could be expected, but in other respects matters are not quite well. The exchange, they say, is likely to rise higher: the demand for linens is lessened, as, from the dearness of them, a few years since, the Americans ran upon East India calicoes, and they continue a preference to them. The failures which have taken place this winter amount, in their whole extent, to near a million, owing to speculations in paper. The revenue is sinking. How are we to find taxes for next year's loan and a commutation for the Salt Tax, which is to be abolished! Little is doing as to Canals yet, from which much was expected.

Mr. Abbot seems actively inclined, but whether he will be able to make things *couleur de rose* is another point.

Most truly and sincerely, E. COOKE.

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[1] This was an office in Great George Street, Westminster, established for the transaction of business with the Government of Ireland.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, August 12, 1801.

My dear Lord—I gave your letter respecting Knox to Mr. Abbot, who showed it to Lord Hardwicke. I had a note this morning from Abbot in these words:—

"Lord H. desires me to say that Mr. Knox must be contented with the fulfilment of the engagement handed over to his Excellency by Lord Cornwallis, which shall be punctually and faithfully performed. His Excellency had not the least thought of displacing the Ladies of Llangollen from the Concordatum."

Mr. Abbot does not continue Marshall as his private secretary. He offered him to be Secretary of the Treasury, in lieu of his two situations, which are worth £1300. Marshall prudently declined; for the Treasury is a place of daily attendance, is only £1000, and is a confidential office, from which he would be forced out on a hostile change. Marshall is going over.

I hear some new Concordat has been agreed to between the Pope and Buonaparte, as to the French clergy, very much upon the basis of the old Concordat. I should like to see this instrument.

We hear Lewins has sent word that the French will come early in September: M'Cabe is said to have brought the news. It is probable.

I hear Dr. Browne has been offered the Treasury—a suggestion of Littlehales—by the by, he is going to England, to arrange military business; for he is not reconciled to the Lord-Lieutenant losing the patronage and direction of the army. The fact is that the Duke of York sends his orders here as he would into Scotland, and so does Lord Chatham; and the change is not relished. It diminishes importance.

Most truly and faithfully,

E. Cooke.

SUPPLEMENT.

I. CATHOLICS.

ABSTRACT OF THE RETURNS OF THE SEVERAL ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF IRELAND,

RELATIVE TO THE STATE OF THEIR CHURCH.

January, 1801.

Archbishops.—There are Four Metropolitans, namely:—Armagh; Dublin, having Glandelagh merged in it; Cashel and Emly, united; Tuam.

Their several Suffragans are as follows:—

Under Armagh.—Meath; Clogher; Raphoe; Dromore, Ardagh, having Clonmacnoise merged in it; Down and Connor, united; Derry; Kilmore.

Under Dublin.—Kildare and Leighlin, united; Ferns; Ossory.

Under Cashel.—Killaloe; Cork; Cloyne and Ross, united; Limerick; Waterford and Lismore, united; Ardfert and Aghadoe, united; Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh, united; the latter in the Province of Tuam.

Under Tuam.—Killala; Clonfert; Elphin; Achonry.

The Archbishops and Bishops derive their incomes,—1st, from sundry parishes in their respective Dioceses, which they hold *in commendam*, and in which generally they officiate as Parish Priests; 2ndly, from Marriage Licences, throughout their Dioceses; and, 3rdly, from stated Contributions of the Parish Priests and Curates, called Proxies. The highest Income is enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, amounting to £550 per annum; the lowest by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the united Dioceses of Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh, amounting to £100 per annum. The incomes of the several Roman Catholic Bishops taken together will average a little more than £300 for each Bishop. The Archbishops and Bishops are appointed by the Pope, usually at the recommendation of the Prelates of the Province and the Clergy of the Diocese.

Deans.—There are in the several Provinces 29 Deans. They have no emolument as such. They are appointed by the Pope, on the presentation of their respective Prelates from among the Parish Priests.

Chapters.—The Chapters may be considered as the Bishops' Council. Their principal function is the electing a Capitular for governing the Diocese, *sede vacante.* The several members have no emolument whatever as such. They are for the most part Parish Priests. There are no Collegiate or Cathedral Churches. There is not any service performed by the Chapter, nor have they any fund or treasury.

Vicars, or Rural Deans.—The Dioceses are in general divided into Districts, composed of a certain number of Parishes, over which a Vicar or Rural Dean presides, whose duty it is to inspect and report the conduct of the Clergy in his District. He has no salary for this duty. He is appointed from among the Parish Priests.

Parochial Clergy.—The Prebendaries, Rectors, Vicars, and Curates, or Coadjutors, are all appointed by the respective Bishops. There are no Roman Catholic Benefices, except Parishes. There are 1026 Parish Priests in Ireland. They have generally Unions, from the inability of the people to support them. Their incomes arise from Voluntary Oblations and stated Contributions, usually received about Christmas and Easter. The stated Contribution in some Dioceses is one shilling from each family, in others two shillings, but the more opulent families pay from that sum to one guinea each. In some places the contribution is in corn. In part of the County of Wexford, one bushel of corn is paid yearly for every twenty acres. There are also casual emoluments arising from Marriage, Purification, and Mortuary Fees. The value of a Benefice depends much on the extent of its population, and the degree of opulence and liberality of its inhabitants. The most valuable Benefice is in the Diocese of Waterford, amounting to upwards of £240 per annum. The least valuable is in the Wardenship of Galway, amounting to only £15 per annum. But the income of the Parish Priests generally throughout Ireland may be taken at an average of about £65 per annum each, exclusively of the expense of keeping a curate. In general, they dine nearly half the year in private families.

Curates.—The Curates are supported either by a share of the Oblations and Contributions, or by a Salary from the Priests, or by both. In most places, they live with their Priests, who give them their diet and lodging, support for one horse, and an allowance of £10 in money. There are nearly 800 Curates or Coadjutors, making, with the Parish Priests above-mentioned, upwards of 1800 Roman Catholic clergymen in this kingdom, of whom 1400 are Seculars, and 400 are Regulars. There is a great want of Curates in almost all the Dioceses; but they cannot at present be had. This scarcity arises from the destruction of the Irish Colleges upon the continent. Besides that, the people in general are too poor to pay for them. The Benefices, which are 1026 in number, would each require two clergymen, and many of the Benefices, from their extent and population, ought to be divided.

Discipline.—The Irish Roman Catholic Church is regulated by the general Canons of the Church, particularly those of the Council of Trent. It has no particular liberties, like the Gallican Church, nor any particular regulation as to Appeals to Rome, such Appeals being regulated by the general Canons of the Church.

Marriage.—The regulations with respect to Marriage are those prescribed by the Council of Trent, except in the Province of Dublin, the Diocese of Meath, and the Wardenship of Galway, in which Districts the decree of that Council annulling clandestine Marriages has not yet been published, as required by the Council to give it effect, although such Marriages have been always and are universally held highly criminal. By clandestine Marriages are understood those which are contracted between two Roman Catholics without the sanction of the Parish Priest of one of the contracting parties, or of a Priest licensed by him, or by the Ordinary, and of two witnesses. All persons who have attained the age of puberty are capable of being married. It is required that they do not labour under any canonical impediment. The consent of parents, unless unreasonably withheld, is required to render Marriage lawful, though it is valid without such consent. When the bans are not published, the license of the Ordinary is required, to render Marriage lawful, but not to its validity. Dispensations in such of the impediments as are of ecclesiastical institution, when sufficient motives are assigned, are occasionally granted by the Ordinaries, as delegates of the Holy See.

Regular Clergy.—It appears from a general statement of the Roman Catholic Metropolitans which accompanies the returns, that there are the six following Monastic Institutions or Orders in Ireland, and, from the returns of the respective Roman Catholic Bishops, the following list of Houses and Members may be collected as belonging to those Orders respectively, viz.:—

	Houses or Chapels.	Members.
Canons Regular	—	7
Dominicans	14	55
Franciscans	18	63
Augustinians	8	24
Carmelites	10	28
Capuchins	3	10
	Houses 53	Members 187

All these Members reside and officiate in their own Houses. They are supported by collections and voluntary contributions. There are, besides, about 150 Regulars of the various Orders above-mentioned, who are employed as Parish Priests and Curates—a practice which has prevailed much of late from the paucity of secular clergymen, since the destruction of the Seminaries abroad, in which above 500 of them were usually educated. And there are upwards of 60 more of the Regular Clergy, who are stated in the returns to be unattached to the Religious Houses. Many of these are engaged occasionally by the Parish Priests; but some of them have no employment, and live entirely upon the charity of their friends. Upon the whole, the number of Regulars in this kingdom are, as was stated above, about 400. Dr. Troy of Dublin, and Dr. M'Mahon of Killaloe, both of the Dominican Order, are the only Regulars who are Prelates in Ireland. The several Regular Orders are governed by a Superior in Ireland called Provincial, elected every third or fourth year from among themselves by the seniors of the Orders respectively. Their dependence on a General Superior residing in Rome is confined to appeals on their particular Regulations. On being employed as Parish Priests or Curates, they are withdrawn from the government of their regular Superiors, and are entirely subject to the Bishop. They cannot preach, hear confessions, or administer any sacrament without a license from the Bishop.

Religious Catholic Women.—There are six Religious Institutions for Catholic Women in Ireland, namely:—Franciscans; Dominicans; Augustinians; Teresians, or Ursulines; Presentation, being a branch of the Ursulines. They have sixteen Houses or Convents, situated in various parts of the kingdom, containing in the whole 122 Women. The individuals of all these institutions embrace them for the purpose of retirement, in order the more readily to spend their lives chiefly in contemplation and prayer. They do great good by their edifying example, and by educating and instructing in the principles of Religion poor children and pensioners of their own sex. They cannot be admitted into them, nor make the usual vows, without the approbation of the respective Bishops. Before they bind themselves to this state, they must be Postulants in a state of probation for one year or more. They are governed by an Abbess or Superioress, elected every third year by themselves, and directed by a Chaplain and Confessor appointed by the Bishop. Of these Chaplains nine are Secular Priests, and seven are of the Regular Orders. Their funds or income arise from the small fortune they have, which is put to interest, and remains for the benefit of the House, and from what they receive from boarders educated in the House, and from others who lodge in it. In all these Houses, visiters, or persons on business, are admitted; but the Religious Women seldom or never go abroad. R. M.

1. THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ARMAGH.

The Primatial and Metropolitan Diocese of Armagh, divided into its Four Districts.

Dublin, November 27, 1800.

The average yearly Income of the Roman Catholic Metropolitan of Armagh, amounting to about £400

arises from annual contributions of the Clergy, called *proxies*, from marriage licenses, and from a certain proportion of the emoluments of the parishes of Drogheda and Terfeckin, which he holds *in commendam*.

The District of Drogheda, composed of Ten Parishes.

The parish of Drogheda (a single benefice) is worth annually about £240

one fourth part of which sum is allowed towards the support of three Curates, who are employed to serve it; they also receive a monthly contribution from the parishioners.

The parish of Terfeckin is worth annually about......... £150

Of which the Metropolitan receives..................£34 2*s.* 6*d.*

The residue goes to a parochial Vicar and Curate, whom he employs to administer it.

The parish of Tullgallen administered by a Parish Priest, who has a Curate, but wants a second, on

account of the great extent of the Parish, is worth, annually, about	£150
The parish of Ardee, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually	130
The parish of Tallanstown, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually	125
The parish of Dunlur, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	100
The parish of Dizart, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	100
Kilsoran, served by a Parish Priest, who wants a Curate, is worth, annually, about	100
Drummiskin, served by a Parish Priest, who wants a Curate, is worth, annually, about	140
Clogher (a single benefice), served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	60

The District of Dundalk, composed of Thirteen Parishes.

The parish of Dundalk, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, worth, annually, about	120
Louth, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	200
Forkhill, served by a Parish Priest, who wants a Curate, is worth, annually, about	130
Carlingford, administered by a Parish Priest, who has a Curate, but wants a second, on account of the great extent of the Parish, is worth, annually, about	150
Upper Craggan (a single benefice), served by a Parish Priest and Curate, (a Franciscan Friar), is worth, annually, about	120
Lower Craggan (a single benefice), served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	80
Upper Killary (a single benefice), served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	70
Lower Killary (a single benefice) served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	60

Loughghilly, served by a Parish Priest, who wants a Curate, is worth, annually, about	£80
Foghart, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	60
Ballymascanlan, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	80
Kilcurly, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	120
St. John's Parish, near Dundalk, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	45

The District of Armagh, composed of Eight Parishes.

Armagh (a single benefice), administered by a Parish Priest, who has a Curate, but wants a second, on account of the great extent of the Parish, is worth, annually	180
Mullabrack, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	130
Tiran, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	120
Derrynoose, served by a Parish Priest and Curate (a Dominican Friar), is worth, annually, about	120
Kilcluney, (a single benefice), served by a Parish Priest and Curate (a Dominican Friar), worth, annually, about	80
Loughgall, served by a Parish Priest, who wants a Curate, is worth, annually, about	80
Kilmare, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	40
Drumcree, (a single benefice), served by a Curate only, the Parish Priest being superannuated, is worth, annually, about	40

The District of Dungannon, composed of Fourteen Parishes.

Dungannon, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	120

Clanfacle, administered by a Parish Priest, who has a Curate, but wants a second, on account of the great extent of the parish, is worth, annually, about	£180
Principal division of the parish of Donoughmore, (a single benefice) served by a Parish Priest and Curate, worth, annually, about...........................	120
Perpetual Vicarage of Donoughmore (a single benefice), served by a Curate only (a Franciscan Friar), the Vicar being infirm, worth, annually, about............	70
Deserterate, served by a Curate only, the Parish Priest being infirm, is worth, annually, about	80
Aghaloe, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	110
Kildross, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	90
Ardtrea, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	70
Ballinderry, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	60
Ardboe, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	70
Glenoe, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	120
Arghillkieran, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	80
Terence M'Gurk, served by a Parish Priest, is worth, annually, about	70
Baltintacker, served by a Parish Priest and Curate, is worth, annually, about	70

There are, in all, forty-five parishes in the Diocese of Armagh.

All the Parish Priests are Seculars. There are, in the said Diocese, 31 Curates, or coadjutors, actually employed, four of whom are Regulars, two Franciscans, and two Dominicans: wanted, in addition to the number at present employed, seven.

There is in the Diocese of Armagh a Chapter, consisting of a Dean, Presenter, Archdeacon, Treasurer, Chancellor, and five Prebendaries: neither Dignitaries nor Prebendaries have any stipend or revenue as such.

There are five religious houses, or convents, in the said Diocese. In Drogheda, there is one of Dominicans, composed of four members, one of Franciscans, consisting of three, and one of Augustinians, and where only two reside. To each of the mentioned convents is annexed a chapel, in which the Friars respectively officiate. In the town of Dundalk there is a Dominican convent, in which two Friars reside and officiate in a chapel contiguous to it. Near Dungannon there is a Franciscan convent, where one Friar only resides, who is employed in serving the vicarage of Donoughmore, the Vicar being infirm.

The Roman Catholic Ordinary of Armagh resides in Drogheda, and administers in person to that parish, with the assistance of three Curates.

RICHARD O'REILLY,
Roman Catholic Metropolitan of Armagh.

The Diocese of Meath, divided into its Eight Districts.

Dublin, November 24, 1800.

The annual income of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, amounting to £362, arises from annual contributions of the Clergy, called proxies, from marriage licenses and from emoluments of the parishes of Navan and Mullingar, which he holds *in commendam.*

The average income of the parish of Navan is £110, and goes to the support of the Bishop and two Curates, who assist him in the care of the parish. The average income of the parish of Mullingar is £180, of which sum two-thirds go to the support of two Curates, employed in the administration of the parish.

Parishes or Unions.	Income	Parish Priests.	Curates Secular.	Curates Regular.	
District of Kells.	£				
Kells	130	Secular	1	. . . .	Vicar, or Rural Dean.
Athboy	80	ditto	1		
Killiagh	80	ditto	1		
Killalon	110	ditto			
Kilbeg	60	ditto			
Oldcastle	100	ditto	1		
Moynalty	90	ditto	1		
C. T. Delvin	110	ditto			
Loghan	75	ditto	. . .	1 Franciscan	
Ardbraccan	146	ditto			
Kilskeer	160	ditto			
District of Duleek.					
St. Mary's, Drogheda	80	ditto	1	. . . .	Rural Dean.
Stamullin	70	ditto	1		
Duleek	100	ditto	1	1 Franciscan	
Crickstown	56	ditto			
Skreene	54	ditto	. . .	1 Franciscan	
Kentstown	100	ditto			
Donover	58	ditto			
Ardeath	70	ditto	1		
Kilcarne	54	ditto			
District of Dunshaghlin.					
Dunshaghlin	80	ditto	1	. . . .	Rural Dean.
Kilclone	60	ditto	1		
Ratoath	90	ditto			
Dunboyne	85	ditto			
Kilmasson	80	ditto			
Greenoge	50	ditto			
District of Trim.					
Trim	110	ditto	1	. . . .	Rural Dean.
Clonmaduff	50	Franciscan	. . .	2 Franciscans	
Clonard	180	Secular	1	1 Franciscan	
Laracor	80	ditto			
Galtrim	80	ditto			
Kildalky	80	ditto			
Rathmolion	90	ditto			
Killiconican	50	Dominican			
Castle Rickard	50	ditto	. . .	1 Dominican	
District of Navan.					
Navan	110	Secular	2	. . . .	held *in commendam* by the Bishop.
Nobber	60	ditto	1	. . . .	Archdeacon.
Slane	90	ditto	. . .	1 Dominican	
Eniskeen	100	ditto	1		
Grangegoeth	45	ditto			
Kilberry	100	ditto			

Parishes or Unions.	Income.	Parish Priests.	Curates Secular	Curates Regular.	
District of Navan, continued.	£				
C. T. Kilpatrick	80	Secular	. . .	1 Dominican	
Drumcondra .	80	ditto			
Siddan . .	80	ditto			
District of Mullingar.					
Mullingar	180	ditto	1	1 Dominican	held *in commendam* by the Bishop.
Castlepollard .	160	ditto	1		
Rathconnell .	100	ditto			
Fore . .	120	ditto			
Mayne . .	110	ditto			
Kilbixy . .	100	ditto			
Fartullagh .	138	Dominican	. . .	1 Dominican	
Dyssart . .	80	Secular			
Killucan . .	80	ditto			
Multifarnam .	60	Franciscan	. . .	2 Franciscans	
District of Ballymore.					
Rathcondra .	70	Secular			
Moyvour . .	40	ditto			
Castletown Geoghegan . .	75	ditto	1		
Kilbeggan . .	70	ditto			
Clara . .	80	ditto	1		
Kill and Killmonaghan .	77	ditto			
Kilkenny, West.	35	ditto			
Ballimore . .	95	ditto	1	. . . .	Vicar-General
Killare . .	35	ditto			
District of Balliboy.					
Balliboy . .	150	ditto	1	. . . .	Rural Dean.
Tullamore . .	150	ditto	1		
Eglish . .	80	Franciscan	1		
Rathen . .	90	Secular			
Total Secular Curates			25	13	
Regular Curates			13		
Total of Secular and Regular Curates			38		

Of the sixty-seven pastors of the Diocese of Meath, six are Regulars, and of these six, three are Dominicans and three Franciscans. Of the thirty-eight Curates of the Diocese of Meath, twenty-five are Seculars, and thirteen are Regulars;

of the Regulars, eight are Franciscans, and five Dominicans. In the Diocese of Meath, there are four convents, or religious houses; one of Dominicans at Donore, in the county of Meath, consisting of three Regulars, who have the care of souls; two of Franciscans, one at Courtown, in the county of Meath, consisting of three Regulars, who have the care of souls, and another at Multifarnam, in Westmeath, consisting also of three Regulars, who have the care of souls. The fourth is a Carmelite convent at Mote, in Westmeath, in which there is but one Regular. There are, moreover, five other Regulars in the Diocese of Meath, three of whom are Dominicans, and two Franciscans, attached to no particular convent, living with their friends, serving as Chaplains, or occasionally assisting the parochial Clergy.

PATRICK JOSEPH PLUNKETT,
Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath.

The Diocese of Clogher.

Dr. Hugh O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher, to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

December 7, 1800.

Most Rev. Doctor—A mistake in me, with regard to the date of a letter from the Primate, occasions the trouble which I take the liberty to give your Grace at present. The notice I got of the meeting which was to be held in Dublin (though dated the 30th October) only reached me in the beginning of November. In that notice, it was mentioned that the day appointed was to be the 12th of next month. Having received the letter in the beginning of November, the next month to me was December. In consequence of which, without examining the date of the letter, which afterwards I found to be the 30th October, I wrote to my respective vicars, and appointed a meeting of our chapter and of some of the clergy on the 9th of this month, in Balliboy: previous to this meeting, I was informed that a meeting of a number of Prelates was held in Dublin about the middle of last month, wherein an answer was made to that part of the queries which regards the Bishops in general; in consequence of which, I sent some answer to the Primate, to that part which regards each Bishop in particular; but, apprehending that said answer was not sufficiently comprehensive, I beg leave to make a recapitulation here, and some addition to it.

To the first query, I made no answer, as being general or common to all the Bishops. To the second, the nature of the Chapter of Clogher is to assist the Bishop, by their counsel and advice, in the administration and spiritual government of the diocese. The members have no stipends as such. They are all parish priests, and, when called on, they meet at their own cost and expences. To the third, if by Deaneries is meant the Deanship of Chapters, there is only one in Clogher. If by Deaneries is meant certain districts allotted to the inspection or superintendence of what we call Vicars-Rural, there are five in the Diocese of Clogher—no revenue or income but that of their respective parishes. To the fourth, if by Benefices is meant parishes, there are thirty-six or thirty-seven, two of which are unions, and those granted by me *in commendam*, to be served by neighbouring parish Priests, on account of the scarcity of Priests proper to fill them. The value arises from the voluntary (but long established by custom) contributions of the respective hearers; the value arises generally from the greatness and population of the parish. To the fifth, there are eighteen Curates, or coadjutors, employed in the diocese of Clogher by different parish Priests, thirteen of whom are seculars and five regulars, all deriving their support from the parish Priests, by whom they are employed. There is one coadjutor Bishop, viz., Dr. James Murphy, parish Priest of Tidawnett; he has no other income but what he derives from his parish and a small farm.

If it should be deemed necessary to give an account or average of the income of the different parishes, it is a thing impossible to be precisely ascertained. However, on the best average account which I could obtain, there are but four or five parishes whose income exceeds (and that not much) £100 a-year; others from £60 to £90, and four parishes do not exceed £50 a-year. If there is anything wanting in the above statement, I beg leave to request your Lordship to inform me, and set me right. Were it not for my mistake of the date and time of the late meeting in Dublin, I should not trouble you with this letter, as I would willingly have gone there myself.

Interim, permit me the honour to be, with respect, &c.,

Hugh O'Reilly.

Dr. H. O'Reilly to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

January 2, 1801.

Most Rev. and worthy Doctor—Your Grace's friendly letter of the 30th ultimo came to hand in due course. My mistake concerning the day of the meeting in Dublin (at which I intended to be) occasioned whatever deficiency has been in my former statement. The average income of the parish of Carrick may be valued at £120 a-year, the proxies at £70, and out of this I keep and maintain two Curates, with a very small subsidy from some of the parishioners. I have no other parish *in commendam.* If it should be thought necessary to mention the mulct or license money, it scarcely amounts to £40 a-year; and the reason is because, with much trouble and perseverance, I enforced the publication of the marriage bans, which is now so generally established that the license money will decrease in future in this diocese, and of that money I never put a shilling to my own private use, but it was all employed for the poor, or repairing chapels. There are seventeen or eighteen regulars in this diocese; the most part of them are employed by the parish Priests: of these, there are three of the Dominican order, and the rest of the

Franciscan; we have no Regular of any other order, or established convent in this diocese.

With sincere wishes, I remain, &c.,
H. O'REILLY.

The Diocese of Raphoe.

Return of the State of the Roman Catholic Church in the Diocese of Raphoe,

As given in a Letter from the Rev. Dr. A. Coyle, Roman Catholic Ordinary, to the Rev. Dr. Richard O'Reilly, of Drogheda.

	£. s. d.
The Roman Catholic Bishop receives from twenty-two parish Priests at the rate of £1 10*s.* 0*d.* each	33 0 0
From the parish of Letterkenny, which he holds *in commendam*, about	90 0 0
From marriage licenses, about	77 0 0
Annual income of the Bishop	200 0 0

There are in the diocese twenty-two parish Priests. The average annual income of each does not exceed £55. There are twelve Curates; they live with the parish Priests, and receive some contributions from the people. Five or six more are wanted. There are two regular Priests in the diocese, one a Dominican, the other a Franciscan; they occasionally assist the parochial clergy in the exercise of their functions, and are supported by the voluntary oblations of the people.

The Diocese of Dromore.

Income of the Roman Catholic Bishop in the Diocese of Dromore,

Arising from the Annual Contributions of the Clergy, called Proxies, and from Fees received from Marriage Licenses, from a certain proportion of the Parishes of Newry and Clonallan, which he holds *in commendam.*

Parish of Newry, average income (of which a certain proportion is allowed by the Bishop to the Curates or coadjutors employed	£227 10 0

by him in the administration of said parish; there are two Curates.)			
Parish of Clonallan, average income £150, of which the Bishop receives annually	34	2	6
(the residue being allowed to a Vicar and Curate, who administer.)			
Annual contributions of the clergy, called proxies	18	4	0
Fees received for marriage licenses	45	10	0
Average income of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Dromore	£325	6	6

There are fifteen parish Priests in the diocese of Dromore.

	£.	s.	d.
1. The Pastor of the united parishes of Tullylish, Seepatrick, Donaghcloney, and Magherally, worth, annually	80	0	0
2. The Pastor of the united parishes of Maralin, Moira, and Aughalee	40	0	0
3. The united parishes of Dromore and Gawahy	80	0	0
4. The united parishes of Magheradrolle and Templemoile	60	0	0
5. The united parishes of Dromballyroney and Anaghlone, by average income	70	0	0
6. Parish of Segoe	80	0	0
7. Parish of Shankill..................................	50	0	0
8. Parish of Drumara	50	0	0
9. Parish of Aghederg	80	0	0
10. Parish of Donaghmore	50	0	0
11. Parish of Dromgath	45	0	0
12. Parish of Clonuff, who keeps a Curate.........	80	0	0
13. Parish of Kilroney	80	0	0
14. The parish of Dromgolin divided between two Pastors, he who possesses the greater part, and who keeps a Curate, by average amount	80	0	0
15. The Pastor of the smaller part, by average ...	50	0	0

There are six Curates only in the diocese, at present, all of them secular Priests. There are no monastic institutions in the diocese of Dromore. There are no regular clergy of any order.

The above is a true statement of the condition of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the diocese of Dromore, and the probable or average amount of their annual receipts.

MATTHEW LENNAN,
Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese of Dromore.
Dublin, November 22, 1800.

N.B.—There has been formerly a Chapter in the diocese, which the Bishop intended to revive; it was similar to the Chapter now in being in the Established Church of Dromore.

MATTHEW LENNAN.

Diocese of Ardagh.

Income of the Bishop	£310	0	0

Arising from the annual contributions of the Clergy called proxies, from fees received for marriage licenses, and from a certain proportion of the emoluments of the parishes of St. Mary, Athlone, Boggar Colry, and Shrule, which he holds *in commendam.*

There are in the diocese of Ardagh forty-three parochial benefices, four of which, as above-mentioned, are held *in commendam* by the Bishop, under the immediate administration of four Curates.

The thirty-nine remaining parishes are these—

Parishes.	Parish Priests.	Present Curates.	Curates Wanted.	£.	s.	d.
Carrick Edmond	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	90	0	0
Legan	Sec.		1	70	0	0
Ardagh and Moydoc	Sec.	1 Reg.	...	100	0	0
Mastrim	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	100	0	0
Rossac and Rathaspie	Reg.		...	56	17	6
Temple Michael	Sec.	1 Sec. 1 Reg.	...	130	0	0

Parishes.	Parish Priests.	Present Curates.	Curates Wanted.	£.	s.	d.
Clongish	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	68	0	0
Killisbea	Sec.	....	...	44	0	0
Rathcline	Reg.	....	...	40	0	0
Carbel	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	72	0	0
Clough	Reg.	....	...	46	0	0
Granard	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	95	0	0
Mullaghome	Sec.	....	1	74	0	0
Mullanalaghta	Sec.	....	1	70	0	0
Billymachugh	Sec.	....	1	51	0	0
Abbeylaragh	Sec.	....	...	69	0	0
Street	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	70	0	0
Clonbrony	Sec.	....	...	60	0	0
Monaduff	Reg.	....	...	50	0	0
Killoe	Sec.	....	1	91	0	0
Drummard	Sec.	....	...	51	10	0
Dunbeggan	Sec.	....	..	53	10	0
Killemuneri and Killory	Sec.	1	...	92	0	0
Killrinan	Sec.	....	...	59	0	0
Drumshamboe	Sec.	....	...	52	0	0
Finagh	Sec.	....	...	50	0	0
Killtubrid	Sec.	....	...	53	0	0
Anghavass	Sec.	1 Reg.	...	56	0	0
Cloon	Sec.	....	...	62	0	0
Mowhill	Sec.	1 Reg.	...	88	10	0
Gortletragh	Sec.	1 Sec.	...	94	10	0
Anaduff	Reg.	....	...	66	0	0
Barancoulagh	Sec.	....	1	70	0	0
Kittoghart	Sec.	....	1	68	0	0
Milone	Sec.	....	1	70	0	0
Ballynahowne	Reg.	....	...	34	0	0
Seven Churches	Reg.	....	...	34	0	0
Ferbane and Moystown	Sec.	....	1	76	10	0
Reina and Gallon	Sec.	....	1	80	0	0

Total of parochial benefices, exclusive of the above-mentioned four parishes, held *in commendam* by the Bishop, thirty-nine.

Parish Priests .... 39, whereof regulars, 7.
Actual Curates......... 13, whereof regulars, 4.
Curates wanting ...... 10.

The diocese of Ardagh has a Chapter, consisting of Dean, Archdeacon, Precentor, Chancellor, and thirteen Prebendaries, who have no revenue as such.

Convents.—Three of the order of St. Francis, and one of that of St. Dominic, viz.:—

Mastrem	Franciscans	4
Jamestown	Ditto	4
St. Mary, Athlone	Ditto	2
Longford	Dominicans	4
		14

whereof six are employed in the cure of souls.

N.B.—The houses are fallen to decay, except that of Longford.

Diocese of Down and Connor.

Average Income of the Roman Catholic Bishop and Clergy of the United Diocese of Down and Connor.

	£
The Parish of Down, as being the Mensale held by the Bishop, probable value	90
By annual contributions by his Clergy	80
Longhinscland	90
Saul, the Deanery, with an Assistant	90
Upper Morne, with an Assistant	90
Bright	90
Balle, with an Assistant	90
Tyrella and Drumca, with an Assistant	90
Kilmore	90
Portaferry	80
Lower Ards, with an Assistant	80
Dunsforde	70
Killmegan, with an Assistant	70

	£
Lower Morne	50
Upper Kilcoe	50
Lower Kilcoe	50
Killdrif	50
Saintfield	50
Belfast, with two Assistants	100
Dunncan, with an Assistant	80
Calfaughtrin, with an Assistant	80
Rasharkin, with an Assistant	80
Lower Glens	80
Loughgiel	70

	£
Lisburn, with an Assistant	70
Drumnaul	70
Kerlandbraid	80
Ahohill	70
Glenearey	70
Aughagallen	70
Armoy	60
Glenrard	60
Glenarm	50
Rathlin	40
Carrickfergus, the pastor of the Dominican Order	40

And there is another Priest of the same Order.

Diocese of Derry.

Return of the State of the Roman Catholic Church in the Diocese of Derry.

(Extracted from a Letter of the Rev. Dr. Charles O'Donnell, its Ordinary, to the Rev. Dr. Richard O'Reilly, of Drogheda.)

The Income of the Roman Catholic Bishop arises from

Proxies received from thirty-three Parish Priests who pay annually £1 12*s.* 6*d.* each	£53	12	6
From the Parish of Londonderry, which he holds *in commendum*, about	100	0	0
From Marriage Licenses, about	100	0	0
Total amount per annum	£253	12	6

There are thirty-three Parish Priests who administer forty-seven Parishes; the average income of each is about £70 per annum, a few being worth £100, and some not exceeding £40. There are twelve Curates, who are supported by the Parish

Priests and parishioners. Eight more are much wanted, if they could be had, and support provided for them; the Parish Priests and Curates are all Secular Priests. There are six Regular Priests in the Diocese. They are supported by the voluntary oblations of the people, and are generally employed in giving occasional assistance to the parochial Clergy in the exercise of their ministry.

Diocese of Kilmore.

A List of the Roman Catholic Clergy, Secular and Regular, of the Diocese of Kilmore, together with their present and relative situations in said Diocese.

Parish Priests.		Parishes.
Reverend John Reilly	Secular	Moybolog.
— Felix M‘Cabe	Secular	Mullough.
— John Smith	Secular	Killenkerr.
— Francis Reilly	Secular	Lurgan.
— T. Reilly, curate	Regular	Ditto.
— Daniel Reilly	....	Castleraham.
— J. Brady, curate	....	Ditto.
— Luke Masterson	....	Knockbride.
— J. Reilly, curate	....	Ditto.
— P. Brady, curate	....	Drumgoon.
— Chas. M'Kiernan	....	Kill.
— Bryan M'Mahon, curate ...	....	Ditto.
— Mich. Smith	....	Larah.
— Edw. M'Cormick	....	Ditto.
— Peter Smith	....	Lavey.
— John Brady	....	Dim.
— B. Lynch, curate	....	Crosserlogh.
— Philip Reilly	....	Ballintample.
— Michael Reilly	....	Kilmore.
— Thomas Brady	....	Cavan.

Parish Priests.		Parishes.
Rev. P. Donoghoe, curate	Regular	Cavan.
— Fran. M'Kiernan	....	Ballyhayes.
— H. Fitzsimmons	....	Anna.
— M. Reilly, curate	Regular	Drung.
— Francis M'Grath	....	Oughteragh.
— John O'Rourke	Regular	
— Hugh O'Reilly	... .	Upper Drumreilly.
— Law. O'Dolan	Regular	Lower Drumreilly.
— Patrick Maguire	Regular	Templeport.
— Bryan M'Gorrin, curate ...	....	Ditto.
— John Kiernan	....	Carrygallen.
— P. Smith, curate	....	Ditto.
— Edm. O'Reilly	....	Killeshandra.
— Jas. Fitzpatrick	....	Kildallen.
— Farrel O'Reilly	....	Drumlane.
— J. Reilly, curate	....	Ditto.
— Owen O'Reilly	....	Lower Anna.
— Michael Wynne	....	Knockmony.
— Owen Reilly	....	Kinaly.
— James M'Gowran		Killesser.
— Francis M'Guire	....	Cloonclare.
— Maurice Cassidy	....	Killinagh.
— John M'Guire	....	Glangovlin.
— Ambrose Cassidy	Regular	Ballynagleragh.
— James Ford	....	Ennismaera.
— John M'Guerty	....	Killargey.
— James M'Gowen, curate ...	Regular	Drumlease.
— Pat. M'Gowen	....	Killasnet.
— Bryan Claney	....	Rossinver.
— Charles Ferguson	....	Ballaghmeehan.
— Hugh O'Dollan	Regular	
— Patrick Ward	Regular	

The average income of the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. James Dillon, arising from the casual Collections made by his Clergy, &c., amounts per annum to one hundred and forty guineas; average Income of the Parish Priests of the Diocese of Kilmore, from forty to eighty guineas per annum.

Annuity of the Curates depends on the beneficence of their respective Parish Priests.

N.B. All the Regulars in the Diocese of Kilmore are Franciscans.

Diocese of Waterford and Lismore.

A Return (upon an average) of the Yearly Emoluments of the Roman Catholic Bishop and Clergy of the United Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore.

Bishop Thomas Hussey, D.D. By proxies from his Clergy, &c., and £50 out of Clonmel parish, £300. Catholic Dean of Waterford, Thomas Hearn, emoluments as such.

Parishes.	Parish Priests.	Dues by Easter and Christmas Offerings.	Dues by Marriages, Baptisms, and Dirges.	Total.
1 Trinity, Waterford	Thos. Hearn, and Curate by collection once a-year.	£115	£120	£235
2 Carrick-on-Suir .	John M'Kenna, 2 Curates	95	115	210
3 Clonmel . .	Thos. Flannery, Diservitor, 1 Curate . .	98	118	216
4 Clogheen . .	Jas. Keating, 1 Curate .	90	110	200
5 Lismore . .	Daniel Lawlor, 1 Curate .	90	129	219
6 Tallou . .	Thomas Hearn . .	50	91	141
7 Dungarvan. .	Thos. Keatinge, 1 Curate.	100	168	268
8 Ballybrick, suburbs of Waterford .	Wm. Power, 1 Curate .	110	110	220
9 St. Patrick's, Waterford . .	Francis Hearn, 1 Curate.	56	60	116
10 St. Stephens, ditto.	Francis Ronan . .	30	30	60
11 St. John, suburbs of ditto . .	John Power, 1 Curate .	50	50	100
12 Passage and Crook	Timothy Hearn, 1 Curate	70	74	144
13 Tramore . .	Nich. Phelans, 1 Curate	70	74	144
14 Risk and Dunhill .	William Keating . .	50	54	104
15 Rossmire . .	Matt. Morrisey, 1 Curate	40	40	80
16 Portlaw and Kilmead . .	Matt. Power, 2 Curates .	80	80	160
17 Mothill . .	Ed. Prendergast, 1 Curate	60	90	150
18 Carrickbegg .	Wm. Lonergan, 1 Curate	55	30	85
19 Ballyneal . .	Thos. O'Connor, 1 Curate	50	100	150
20 Kilcash . .	Thomas Anglin, 1 Curate	70	70	140
21 Rathronan. .	Patrick Tobin, 1 Curate .	41	47	88
22 Cahir . .	Michael Keating, 1 Curate	50	50	100

Parishes.	Parish Priests.	Dues by Easter and Christmas Offerings	Dues by Marriages, Bap. and Dirges.	Total.
23 Ardfinnan . .	T. Flannery, 1 Deservitor	£50	70	120
24 Tubrid . .	John Hearn, 1 Curate .	100	100	200
25 Capperquin .	Thomas Flannery .	50	50	100
26 Modeligo . .	John Phelan . .	40	60	100
27 White Church .	Wm. Moran, 1 Curate .	64	127	191
28 Clashmore . .	William Flynn, 1 Curate.	45	80	125
29 Temple Michael .	Patrick Phelan, 1 Curate	45	80	125
30 Ardmore . .	Walter Mullowney, 1 Cur.	50	80	130
31 Ring . .	Edmund Prendergast .	20	15	35
32 Abbyside . .	James Power . .	40	44	84
33 Stradbally . .	Vacant, 1 Curate . .	50	75	125
34 Kilrossenty .	Edm. Power . .	50	60	110
35 Kilgobonet. .	Patrick Walsh, 1 Curate .	50	50	100
36 Seskinane . .	William Power . .	50	50	100
37 Newcastle . .	John Welsh . .	40	70	120

Note 1.—That all Curates live with their respective Parish Priests, where they get each, diet, lodging, &c., and support for one horse, together with a yearly salary of £10.

Note 2.—That besides the twenty-nine Curates now employed (two of whom are regulars), there are three superannuated Parish Priests, who have pensions of £20 each, out of their former parishes, namely, Portlaw, Stradbally, and Templemichael. There are also three Secular Priests unfit for labour from ill health, supported by gratuitous donations from the Clergy, &c.

Note 3.—That our monastic houses are, Order of St. Francis, three, namely:—

One in Waterford, number of subjects	- -	3
One in Clonmel, ditto	- -	2
One in Curraheen ditto	- -	2
Order of St. Augustin, one in Dungarvan	- -	2
Order of St. Dominic, one in Waterford	- -	2

They assist the Pastors when called upon, and make out their support by quests at chapels and among the farmers.

Catholic Chapters.

One at Lismore, the Dean and Prebends all dead, no fund for the support of either when established.

One in Waterford, the members all dead except the Dean; no fund for its support.

The present Catholic Bishop has ordered all his emoluments arising from the Diocese to be laid out on poor schools, and the purchase of a house, with other charitable purposes.

A faithful return, done in Waterford, this 24th of November, 1801.

THOMAS HEARN,
Catholic Vicar-General and Dean.

Dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe.

A Statement of the United Dioceses of Ardfert and Aghodoe, generally called the Diocese of Kerry. Charles Sugrue, Roman Catholic Bishop.

(In these United Dioceses there are actually forty-four Parish Priests, and thirty-one Coadjutors, or Curates.)

The Bishop's income having three Curates, £400 per annum.

Parishes.	Priests.	Curates	Value.	Parishes.	Priests.	Curates	Value.
Tralee . .	1	2	£180	Tough . .	1	2	£120
Ballyhige .	1	1	120	Fieries . .	1	1	80
Castle Island .	1	1	100	Killcummen .	1	0	60
Ardfert . .	1	1	80	Glanbegh .	1	0	60
O'Dorney .	1	0	60	Glanflesk .	1	0	60
Bally Mac Gel-				Milltown .	1	1	90
licot . .	1	0	60	Millstreet .	1	1	85
Currens . .	1	0	60	Killmeen .	1	1	80
Castlemain .	1	0	60	Droum Farive.	1	0	70
Tarbort .	1	1	100	Knuckhapal .	1	1	80
Liselton . .	1	1	80	Knucknagree	1	0	60
Listowel . .	1	0	50	Killgarven .	1	1	80
Ballynegerigh .	1	1	80	Kenmare .	1	0	65
Duagh . .	1	1	70	Ballybog . .	1	0	60
Brosna . .	1	0	50	Karks . .	1	1	75
Knuchanure .	1	1	70	Bonane . .	1	1	75
Dingle . .	1	2	140	Castletown .	1	1	90
Dunquin . .	1	1	80	Garrinish .	1	0	60
Letterigh .	1	1	80	Couligh . .	1	1	80
Cappaclogh .	1	0	60	Kahir . .	1	1	90
Lispowel . .	1	0	50	Dromid . .	1	0	60
Killarney, Bi-				Valentia . .	1	1	95
shop's parish		3	180	Bordonine .	1	0	60

Chapter.

Morgan Flaherty,	Dean.
John Egan,	Archdeacon.
N. Nealor,	Treasurer.
Tim. Mahony,	Chancellor.

Mickl. Sullivan, Daniel Sullivan, Ned. Flaherty,	Prebendaries.

Total income of seventy-five Priests, including the Bishop's revenue, £3,935.

N.B.—Of the above there are eight regulars only, one of whom is Parish Priest, the seven others, coadjutors. By parishes, as above, are meant districts, including four or more unions; some of them have three or more adjuncts, taking in a territory of ten, fifteen, and sometimes twenty miles. The chief denomination, for brevity's sake, is only mentioned: of the regulars, six are Franciscans, and two Dominicans. The Curates are supported by the Parish Priests, and are usually allowed one-third of the revenues of each parish; were there sufficient revenues for the support of more Priests, they would be necessary, in order effectually to instruct the people, and go through the other laborious duties of the ministry.

N.B.—The Bishop, holding the parish of Killarney, supports out of his revenues three Curates, horses, &c., in his own house, which burthen being taken into consideration, his net income does not amount to £300 per annum.

The above is a true statement.

C. SUGHRUE,
Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry.

2. ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CASHEL.

Archbishopric of Cashel and Bishopric of Emly United, in the Province of Munster.

The whole annual Ecclesiastical income of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, arising from the contributions of his Clergy in both Dioceses, called proxies, from marriage dispensations, and from the offerings and dues of the parish of Thurles, which he holds *in commendam*, amounts to £450.

N.B.—Two Curates are supported on the emoluments of the parish of Thurles.

Cashel has a Chapter, composed of a Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Treasurer, Chanter, and five Prebendaries, who have no stipend of any sort as such. Their principal duty and privilege is to appoint a Vicar Capitular to administer the See during its vacancy.

The Bishopric of Emly has a Dean and Archdeacon. There is no Church Benefice in either Diocese, but a parish. The Easter and Christmas Offerings constitute, on an average, one-half of all the emoluments of every parish in the said Dioceses.

In the Archbishopric of Cashel there are twenty-eight Parish Priests, all Secular Priests, and twenty-three Curates, of whom two are Augustinian Friars. There are also two resident Franciscan Friars in the town of Thurles, and one resident Dominican Friar in the city of Cashel.

Denominations of the principal Parishes in the Archbishopric of Cashel.

		Income on an Average.	Coadjutors.	
			Secular.	Regular.
1	Thurles	£200	2	
2	Cashel	220	2	
3	Bahirlahan......	100	1 now wanting.	
4	Holycross	80	1	
5	Macarky	120	1	
6	Gurtnahoare ...	60	2	
7	Mayne	70	1	
8	Loughmore ...	80	0	
9	Killea	80	1	
10	Drom............	80	1	
11	Borrissleagh ..	120	1	
12	Ballina	60	0	
13	Birdhill	60	0	
14	Killcumonin ...	30	0	
15	Upperchurch ...	80	1	
16	Clonaulty	80	1	

	Income on an Average.	Coadjutors. Secular.	Coadjutors. Regular.
17 Newport ……	£120	1	
18 Anacarty ……	100	0	
19 Dunaskeagh …	80	0	
20 Gooldon ……	70	0	1
21 Bansha ………	120	1	
22 Nagraffan ……	80	0	
23 Clarahone ……	50	0	
24 Fethard ……	120	0	1
25 Cloneen ………	80	1	
26 Mullinahone …	120	I	
27 Ballingarry …	150	1	
28 Killenaule ……	160	1	

The Bishopric of Emly has eighteen Parish Priests, all Secular Priests, and twelve Curates, of whom one is an Augustinian and one a Dominican Friar, and there usually resides in the town of Tipperary one Augustinian Friar.

Denominations of the principal parishes in the Bishopric of Emly.

	Income on an Average.	Coadjutors. Secular.	Coadjutors. Regular.
1 Tipperary ……	£200	2 one wanting	
2 Galbally………	120	1	
3 Ballinlander …	60	0	
4 Kilbehanny …	60	0	
5 Glinbrahane …	80	0	
6 Cullen ………	70	1	
7 Emly …………	70	0	
8 Knockany ……	90	1 more wanting.	
9 Ballybricken …	60	1	
10 Hospital ……	120	1	
11 Kilteely ………	80	1	
12 Fallagrane……	80	0	1
13 Sallshead ……	70	1 more wanting.	

	Income on an Average.	Coadjutors. Secular.	Regular.
14 Caherconlis ...	£80	0	
15 Abbington	120	1	
16 Bilban	70	1	
17 Doon	60	0	
18 Cappagho	70	0	

In the Archbishopric of Cashel there are Parish Priests ...	28
Curates, of whom two are Friars	23
And resident Friars	3
In all	54

In the Bishopric of Emly there are Parish Priests..... ...	18
Curates, of whom two are Friars	12
And one resident Friar	1
In all	31

N.B.—The Coadjutors, Secular and Regular, are supported by the Parish Priests on the parish emoluments, and the resident Friars or Regulars, not employed as Curates, are supported by the charity of the Catholics, and their assistance to the Parish Priests in the places where they reside is necessary in the sacred functions.

THOMAS BRAY,
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel.

Diocese of Killaloe.

Michael Peter M'Mahon, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe, makes the following Answers to the Queries put by his Majesty's Ministers.

Cappavilla, November 10, 1800.

Answer to Query 1. The Metropolitan, by giving a return of his Suffragans, will ascertain the number of Roman Catholic Bishops in each province. No See united to this Diocese. The income of each varies somewhat according to their extent, population, and principal towns; hence the income of a Roman

Catholic Bishop arises from the number of Beneficed or Parish Priests, who pay him an annual sum, some more, some less, in proportion to their respective parishes. Some emoluments arise, also, to Roman Catholic Bishops from Dispensations granted in the usual publications of matrimonial bans, and for dispensing, in certain prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity: of this emolument a part is applied to charitable purposes, and a part towards the support of the Bishop: here we have no benefices *in commendam*, except the parish of Birr, held by the Bishop.

A. to Q. 2. As the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland has no Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, no Service Fund, or Treasury appertaining thereto, the business of the Chapter, though the names in some places are preserved, is rather nominal, and exercised only on the vacancy of the Episcopal See: the members of our Chapters have no stipends as such.

A. to Q. 3. Only one Dean in this Diocese; no income annexed; no value, therefore.

A. to Q. 4. By Benefice, I understand the emolument arising to each Parish Priest from his Cure or Parish; of those there are fifty in this Diocese; the amount or value is fluctuating, as it depends on population and contingencies, some more, some less; some produce £100, some £150, some £200; it arises from the customary donations of the parishioners at Christmas and Easter, or thereabouts; it also arises partly from marriages, from christenings, and from burials. As to precise dues, with us there are none, all being gratuitous and voluntary on the part of the givers; however, the income or emolument of an Incumbency in general arises from its extent and population; and this shows and proves its relative importance.

A. to Q. 5. The number of Coadjutors is variable, as it depends on the infirmity, old age, &c., of the Pastors, and the necessity they may be in of getting an assistant; the Curate, or Coadjutor, is supported by the Parish Priest; in general, Coadjutors are Secular Priests; Regulars are seldom employed as such, and then only when Seculars are not to be had.

A. to Q. 6. At this time, no Monastic Institutions in this Diocese. There have been, heretofore, five or six in each of them; there resides but one at present; of those who remain, some are employed by the Parish Priests as Coadjutors; in general, they are supported by casual charity; the duties performed by them are, to assist the Parish Priest in hearing confessions, in attending the sick, and sometimes in preaching and teaching.

A. to Q. 7. The number of Regular Priests in Ireland not easily ascertained, but by reference to their respective superiors, or by a List compiled from each Diocese. In this Diocese there are six of Franciscan order, and three of the Dominican.

A. to Q. 8. The appointment of Bishops rests solely with the See of Rome; the elections of Metropolitans are made by a postulation of the Suffragan Bishops, and those of the Suffragan Bishops by a postulation of the Beneficed Clergy, strengthened and recommended by the Provincial Bishops. The Deans are appointed by Holy Roman See, on the recommendation of the Bishops—Rectors, Curates, and Vicars, by the Bishop alone; lay patronage and presentation have little or no existence in the Irish Roman Catholic Church.

A. to Q. 9. The Canons of Discipline, by which the Irish Roman Catholic Church is governed, are the same which have at all times, and do now, govern the Roman Catholic Church in all parts of the world. We may say, that the Canons by which the Discipline of the Irish Roman Church is governed, are those of the Council of Trent.

A. to Q. 10. The regulations with respect to marriage in the Irish Roman Catholic Church do not differ from them of the Roman Catholic Church in general; inasmuch as marriage is a contract, it is restricted by such Ecclesiastical laws as render it valid or invalid, legal or illegal; hence occur impediments, of which some are *diriment* as to validity, and others *prohibent*, which constitute a canonical illegality. As to the subject of matrimony, all Christians are admissible as to the validity, except in cases where diriment impediments occur, arising from the Divine or Ecclesiastical law, such as the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity, the want of jurisdiction in the Minister over either of the contracting parties, sufficient witnesses, and many other diriment impediments specified in the Canonical Statutes. Impediments also occur when the contracting parties are under age, or under the authority of parents, guardians, or executors: as to consent of parents, it is generally required; but, should it be withheld, as is sometimes the case, contrary to the duties of justice and charity, and contrary to every principle of reason and religion, it may then be dispensed with, but cautiously. A Bishop is the ordinary Minister of Matrimony in his Diocese, and the Incumbent Pastors in their respective parishes. A Priest who marries those over whom he has no jurisdiction is suspended by the act from all Ecclesiastical functions, and the marriage so performed null and void, where clandestine marriages are declared invalid, as in this Diocese and Province.

A. to Q. 11. As to any particular privileges similar to them of the Gallican Church, there are none claimed or practised at any time by the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland.

Dioceses of Cloyne and Ross.

Answers to the Queries proposed by Government, as far as they regard the Dioceses of Cloyne and Ross.

Middleton, November 6, 1800.

These Dioceses are united; the income of their Roman Catholic Bishop arises, first, out of the Cathedraticum or proxies, paid by fifty-three Parish Priests, and by thirty Curates, amounting in the whole to £86; the former paying £1 5*s*. 5½*d*. each, the latter 12*s*. 5½*d*. annually. It arises, secondly, out of the one half of the annual perquisites received from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parishes of Glanworth, Dunmahon, Kilgullane, Derrivilane, and Ballylough united, amounting, on an average, to £60, which, if called a *commendam*, is the only thing of the kind in either Diocese. The other half of these perquisites is divided between two Clergymen, who do the duty there. What these perquisites are, shall be mentioned below, in stating the income of the Parish Priests and Curates. Thirdly, it arises out of the mulcts paid by persons about to be married, when they require to be dispensed with in the publication of their bans; from which publications they are exempted as often as there are good reasons for so doing, and when there are sufficient vouchers that there is no Canonical obstacle in the way of their being married. These mulcts may average about £300 a-year; it is their amount this present year; they have often made much more, and they may make less.

There is no Chapter in the Dioceses, neither is the Deanery any thing more than a name; there is no emolument whatsoever, nor privilege, nor authority, annexed to it.

In answer to the query regarding the number and quality of Roman Catholic Benefices in the Diocese of Cloyne and Ross, there are fifty-three, eleven whereof are in the Diocese of Ross, and the remainder in the Diocese of Cloyne; they are all unions of from two to five parishes, save only six in the Diocese of Cloyne, which are single Benefices; yet some of these latter are more emolumentary than some of our unions, inasmuch as they comprise a greater number of Roman Catholic householders, in easy, or snug, or affluent circumstances, who may choose to contribute more generously to their Clergymen's support. The income of these Benefices (if entitled to that name) arises out of the voluntary gratuities of the parishioners, at baptisms and marriages, and at the two seasons of Christmas and Easter.

Among the lower order, when a child is baptized, it is usual to give the Priest two shillings; when a couple are married, he gets a crown, or two or three, or a guinea, according to the circumstances and liberality of the parties, besides the free contributions of the guests then invited. At Easter and Christmas, it is customary for every householder in a parish to give the Parish Priest a British shilling. But the opulent of our communion never confine the gratuities to such limits, nor do the middling classes; they give, according to their respective circumstances, from half-a-crown to a guinea, which last sum the most opulent never exceed; whence it follows, that the income derived to a Parish Priest, in this and every other Diocese in Ireland, depends more upon the number of comfortable householders, or generous individuals, residing within his Benefice, than upon the number of parishes which compose it. This income in some Benefices has amounted, though rarely, to £200 in a year, while in others it has been under £40; but the Benefices, one with another, may average from £100 to £120 a-year; two-thirds whereof go to the Parish Priest, and the remaining third to his Curate.

In the Diocese of Cloyne and Ross, there are fifty-three Parish Priests; and, though it were to be wished that each of these had a Curate, yet, as we have not so many, nor means to support a Curate in every Benefice, the duty is done by thirty Curates, the actual number employed in these Dioceses at present. All these, except three, are Seculars; one of which three Regulars is employed in Macroom, another in Fermoy, and a third in Castletownroche.

There is but one convent in the Diocese of Cloyne, and that one is in the town of Buttevant; it is occupied now by one only Regular, who is supported by the alms of the charitable in his neighbourhood.

There is also one Regular in the village of Timoleague, in the Diocese of Ross; he lives there in a poor cabin, and is supported by the alms of the neighbouring inhabitants. The duties performed by these Regulars consist in assisting occasionally the contiguous Parish Priests in the discharge of their Ministry, when called upon to do so; one Regular only has a parish in the Diocese of Cloyne, he resides in Mitchelstown; and there is an infirm, superannuated Regular, supported by alms in a poor cabin of that town also.

The four last queries being of a general nature, will, doubtless, be answered more satisfactorily by the four Metropolitans.

WILLIAM COPPINGER,
Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross.

Diocese of Limerick.

Limerick, November 25, 1800.

The Roman Catholic Bishopric of Limerick, which is in the Province of Munster, has no Bishopric united to it.

The whole Income of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick may amount per annum from three hundred pounds to three hundred guineas, in which are included the emoluments of the Parish of St. John's in Limerick, which he holds *in commendam*, and on which two Curates are supported: Limerick has no Chapter, but there is a Dean, who, as such, has no emolument. His office is to convene the Parish Priests, when the See is vacant, that a Vicar Capitular may be canonically appointed by them, for administering the Diocese during the vacancy.

In the Bishopric of Limerick there are forty-two Parish Priests, in which number the Bishop is included, and eleven Curates only, owing to the scarcity of Priests and to the want of the necessary means for their support. Of these Curates, three are Friars, viz., two Augustinians, and one Dominican.

The average yearly Income of the Parishes is from forty to a hundred guineas each; four or five Parishes yield about forty guineas each; four or five more are worth about one hundred guineas; and the remaining Parishes are of intermediate value. It is unnecessary to add how the Clergy are paid, or whence their emoluments arise, or what constitutes the Income of the Bishop of Limerick, the mode being the same throughout this Province.

As to the Religious Institutions in this Diocese and the members who compose them, their respective Superiors will make a faithful return of them.

The last queries regarding alike the whole kingdom will, no doubt, be answered by the Prelates who are now met in Dublin.

JOHN YOUNG, R. C. Bishop of Limerick.

N.B. In the Diocese of Limerick there are fifteen Regulars—six Augustinians, four Dominicans, and five Franciscans.

3. Archbishopric of Dublin.

Dublin, November 29, 1800.

Parish Priests, Curates, and other officiating Clergy, Secular and Regular, of the Archdiocese of Dublin, with the averaged ordinary Income of each Parish Priest.

Parishes.	Income	Curates.	Quality.	Coadjutors, or Officiating Assistants.	Regulars, officiating in their own Chapels.
City of Dublin District.	£				
St. Mary, St. George, and St. Thomas, held *in commendam* by the Archbishop . .	250	A Vicar, & Three Curates	Seculars	Three	8 Dominicans
St. Andrew, St. Mark, &c. .	200	Four	2 Seculars and 2 Regulars	Three	8 Carmelites
St. Nicholas Without, &c. . .	150	Four	3 Seculars and 1 Regular	Three	4 Carmelites
St. Catherine .	150	Four	Seculars	Three, 1 of whom is a Regular	8 Augustinians
St. Michan : .	140	Three	2 Seculars and 1 Regular	Two	
St. Michael, St. John, and St. Nicholas, Within, &c. . . .	140	Three	1 Secular and 2 Regulars	Two, 1 of whom is a Regular	8 Franciscans
St. Paul . .	150	Three	1 Secular and 2 Regulars	Two	7 Capuchins
St. Audeon . .	140	Two	Seculars	Four	
St. James . .	100	Two	Seculars	Three, 1 of them a Regular	
Irishtown & Donnybrook, County of Dublin . .	60				
Booterstown, &c., united, ditto .	100	Curate wanting	Parish Priest, a Regular		
	£1580	29			

Parishes.	Income.	Curates.	Quality.	Coadjutors, or Officiating Assistants.	Regulars, officiating in their own Chapels.
Deanery or Vicarage of Swords.	Bt. over £1580	29			
Swords, Malahide, &c., united, Co. of Dublin . .	110	One	A Regular		
Coolock, Santry, &c., united, ditto.	110	One	Regular		
Castlenock, Mulhuddard, Chapel Izod, &c., united, ditto . .	110	One	Secular		
Finglass, St. Margarets, &c., united, ditto .	100				
Clonmethan, Rowlinstown, &c., united, ditto .	80				
Baldoyle, Howth, &c., united, do. .	90				
Deanery of Skerries.					
Skerries, &c. united, County of Dublin . . .	100	One	Secular		
Balrothery, Balbriggan, &c., united, ditto . .	120	One	Regular		
Lusk, &c., united, ditto . .	110	One	Secular		
Naul, &c., united, ditto . .	100	One	Parish Priest and Curate, Regulars		
Garristown, &c., united, ditto .	100				
Rush, ditto . .	100				
Donebate, ditto .	70				
Deanery or Vicarage of Bray.					
Bray, &c., united, County of Wicklow . . .	100	One	Secular		
Laughlinstown, Dunleary, &c., united, County of Dublin . . .	100	Curate wanting			
Sandyford, ditto .	80				
Kilcoole, Kilmurry, &c., County of Wicklow . .	100	One	Secular		
Roundwood, Anamoe, &c., united, ditto . .	90				
	£3350	38			

Parishes.	Income.	Curates.	Quality.	Coadjutors, or Officiating Assistants.	Regulars, Officiating in their own Chapels.
Deanery or Vicarage of Wicklow.	Bt. over £3350	38			
Wicklow, Ashford, Glenaly, &c., united, County Wicklow .	200	One, another wanting	Regular		
Arklow, Castletown, Johnstown, &c., united, ditto.	150	Curate wanting			
Rathdrum, Macredin, &c., united, ditto . .	100	One	Secular		
Kilbride Union, ditto . . .	100				
Redcross Union, ditto . , .	100				
Deanery or Vicarage of Maynooth.					
Maynooth, Leixlip, &c., united, Co. Kildare .	115	One	Secular		
Celbridge, &c., united, ditto .	100				
Lucan, Palmerstown, &c. united, County of Dublin . . .	100	Curate wanting			
Crumlin, Clondalkin, &c., united, ditto . . .	100	One	Secular		
Rathfarnham, &c., united, ditto	115	One	Secular		
Saggard, Newcastle, &c., united, ditto . .	110	Curate wanting			
Deanery or Vicarage of Athy.					
Athy, &c., united, County Kildare	140	One, another wanting	Secular	2 Dominicans, having a house in Athy	
Castledermot, Moone, &c., united, ditto .	200	One	Secular	One Secular Priest in the Parish of Castledermot	
Kilcullen, &c., united, ditto .	130	Curate wanting			
Dunlaven, &c., united, County Wicklow . .	180	One, another wanting	Regular		
Black Ditches, do.	90				
Blessington, &c., united, ditto .	150	One	Secular		
	£5530	47			

Parishes.	Income.	Curates.	Quality.	Coadjutors, or Officiating Assistants	Regulars, Officiating in their own Chapels.
Deanery or Vicarage of Athy, continued.	Bt. over £5530	47			
Ballymore, &c., united, County of Dublin . .	140	One	Secular		
Narrymore, Crookstown, &c. united, County Kildare .	140	Curate wanting			
Total ordinary averaged Income	£5810	48	Of the 48 curates 14 are of the Regular Orders, viz. Dominicans 7 Augustinians 2 Carmelites 2 Trinitarians 2 Capuchins 1 — 14	28 Of the above number, six are of the Regular Orders, viz :— 2 Dominicans, 2 Franciscans, 1 Capuchin, 1 Carmelite.	
Parish Priests . 48					

Total Number and Quality of Clergy.

Parish Priests, including the Archbishop as Commendatory . .		48
Curates . .		48
Assistants : .		28
Regulars, officiating in their own Chapels in Dublin . . .		43
		167
Secular Clergy, of every description . . .	104	
Regular Clergy, ditto .	63	
Total Number . .		167
Curacies Vacant by the want of Clergy		9

Curates of every description . .	48
Assistants of every description .	28
Regulars, officiating in their own Chapels	43

Two Regulars, who are Parish Priests, are included in the Number 104, by mistake.

There are also five Chaplains of Religious Houses of women in Dublin, three of whom Regulars of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Teresian Carmelite Orders. Also, the Chaplains of the House of Industry, and the General Asylum in Townsend Street, both Secular Priests.

To exercise the Catholic Ministry duly, there should be two Clergymen in each Country Parish. The present want of sufficient Clergy is occasioned by the destruction of Irish Colleges on the Continent by the French. These Colleges maintained more than 400 Clerical Students. In Maynooth College, there are but 200. Some parishes ought to be divided, but cannot at present, from the scarcity of Clergy.

Chapter.—The Chapter of Dublin is composed of the same dignitaries and Prebendaries as that of the Cathedral of Saint Patrick. They are generally Parish Priests. In each country district or vicarage, one of the Parish Priests is appointed by the Archbishop to inspect the conduct of the Clergy, and report to him or to one of the Vicars-General residing in Dublin. The office and duties of District Vicars correspond to the functions of Rural Deans.

Income of the Bishopric.—The income of the Archbishop, as such, is derived solely from the annual stated contributions of the Parish Priests and Curates, called *Procurations* or *Proxies:* according to the present number of both, he would receive about 160 guineas. From the poverty of some, he has not received from all, and never received more in any year than 130 guineas, which make £147 17*s.* 6*d.* This sum, added to £250 from the parish he holds *in commendam*, forms his ordinary annual income of £319 17*s.* 6*d.* He officiates in his Parish Chapel, and complies with the duties of Parish Priest, as circumstances allow. The other Roman Catholic Bishops do the same in their respective *commendams.*

Income of the Clergy.—Parish priests in the City derive their income from a collection of contributions at Easter, from two-thirds of moneys received for marriages, purifications, &c., and from a share in the Sunday collection at the chapel door. An annual collection is made for the rent, taxes, repairs, &c., of the chapel; the averaged amount of rent, &c., for each chapel in the City is £80. It is impossible to average the income of curates in the City, arising from a third part of certain parochial dues divided amongst them, and from their share of the respective Sunday collections. The assistant officiating clergy share of the Sunday collections; all principally derive their support from public benevolence. The regular clergy of the City of Dublin officiating in their own chapels are supported by the respective Sunday collections and benevolence of the people. An annual collection through the City is made by them respectively for the payment of rent, repairs, taxes, &c., of their chapels, in which they preach and perform other duties of the Ministry by permission of the Ordinary. In the country, the parish priests are supported by stated contributions at Easter, and in some parishes at Christmas. They get hay or corn from their more wealthy parishioners in most places, and receive certain fees for marriages, purifications, and other functions. The curates generally live with the respective parish priests, who allow them a salary, or a proportion of parochial emoluments. In some places, the curates are allowed quarterly or half-yearly collections in the chapels. The mode of providing for them varies in different parishes. J. T. TROY.

Province of Leinster.

United Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.

Answers to such Queries proposed by his Majesty's Ministers, through the medium of Dr. Troy, respecting the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland, as may, it is conceived, peculiarly relate to the above Sees, and which could not, with due propriety, have been particularly adverted to in the common joint reply of the prelates on that subject.

Quere 1. What is the income of each Roman Catholic Bishopric, and whence does it arise, and what are the *commendams* held in each?—*Answer.* The stated annual income of the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Kildare and Leighlin, or rather, that of the present Bishop, in capacity of Prelate, and in precise virtue of his episcopal character or station, amounts to the exact sum of £46 12*s.* 9*d.*; a revenue arising solely from an established contribution, named proxy, paid to him by his parish priests, at the rate of one guinea each per annum, from forty-one individuals of that description exclusively, the curates being exempt from this obligation. It is, however, further to be observed on this head, that, at different successive periods within these last ten years, thirty-three of the parish priests have spontaneously adopted the practice of contributing towards the Bishop's support an additional guinea each per annum, by way, it is to be remarked, of voluntary donation, as they expressly specify on such occasions, not omitting to return such money in a separate statement, distinguished from that of the proxies, under the special denomation of *free gift:* amount of the latter sum, £37 10*s.* 9*d.* The curates, moreover, or a far greater number of them, at a still more recent date, have, of their own accord, also acceded to the measure of a similar yearly voluntary donation, on their part, viz.: 7*s.* 7*d.* each from twenty-two members of that order, and £1 each from four others; in the whole, £12 6*s.* 6*d.* The Bishop uniformly attends in person at six several conferences, as they are termed, or meetings of his clergy, in the Counties of Carlow, Kildare, and Queen's County, on the receipt every year of said various dues and benefactions. Agreeably, therefore, to the above statements, which are, he avers, perfectly fair and accurate, the actual income of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, as such, stands as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Annual established contribution, or proxy, from Parish Priests	46	12	9
Annual pure gratuity from a considerable majority of do.	37	10	9
Annual voluntary donation from Curates	12	6	0
	£96	9	6

Lo! the entire nominal but not ordinary income, as some insolvents invariably occur, even in the list of proxies, every year in the above number—a defalcation resulting from various contingencies not of a nature to be here enumerated. Both Curates and Parish Priests are in the habit of giving each yearly half a crown British to the Bishop's servant.

Answer to the last point of the *Quere* touching *Commendams.*—The Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin is also the actual Parish Priest of Tullow, a living he possessed previous to his Episcopal appointment, and in the personal administration of which he still, as formerly, continues to remain. It is at present, and has always been since his engagement in the discharge of the duties of the Ministry, his place of residence, and he ceases not to perform occasionally therein, as heretofore, all the usual sacred functions and respective duties, in detail, of an officiating parochial Priest. He, moreover, holds *in commendam* the parish of Mountrath, or, more properly speaking, Clonenagh, conferred on him since his accession to the See.

The parish of Tullow, as possessed by the Roman Catholic incumbent, contains two Unions, with small portions of four others annexed thereto. The benefice of Clonenagh consists, as in the Established Church, of one single denomination. The annual averaged income of the former living, prior to 1789, faithfully deduced from the most authentic documents for a series of years preceding that period, as well during the present incumbent's administration as that of his immediate predecessor in the parish, the late Bishop might, with honest truth, be rated at a sum not exceeding £60: comprising, nevertheless, in this estimate, all pecuniary or other dues, ordinary oblations, and collections of every species, from 1789 to the present time, it may be fairly averaged, as will be seen in the general return, at £111 per annum, and yet a considerable diminution in the population, attended also by a like notable reduction in the properties of the still existing inhabitants of the country district, by far the most emolumentary portion of the parish, has literally taken place during that particular term. Whence, then, it may be asked, under such circumstances, this extraordinary rise in its produce? Why, to speak out here the naked, plain truth, from the superior cleverness and address, diligence and industry, hardy firmness and resolution, successfully exerted by the Curates latterly employed in the administration of the parish in the collection and exaction of their dues, who, in this point of view, far surpass the former cultivators of the vineyard, without laying themselves open, at the same time, to any imputation of extortion or oppression; an elucidation of this is, perhaps, not extraneous to the purport of the *Queres*. To this cause alone is to be traced the increased value of the income, from £60 (including corn, which is rated at £10,) to £111 per annum, in a parish where the flock is composed, as the Pastor humbly begs leave to observe, of a people the most wretchedly poor and absolutely of the lowest and meanest condition, with the exception of a small number of individuals in middling circumstances, of any through the entire Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin; a description of persons, the far greater majority of whom would, it is highly probable, be classed in the list of real paupers and acknowledged objects of public charity, did they belong to any other communion or society of Christians in the land than that of which they are members. Such are the sources, notwithstanding, from which the Bishop now reluctantly derives, in a great measure, his proportion of £74, or two-thirds of the annual income; the remaining third is assigned to the support of the Curate.

As to the living of Mountrath, he can say little with precision touching its real value, except as to his own share out of it, £66 per annum, till within these four last years, since which it may be correctly averaged at £314 a-year, taking into the account, with other dues, salaries for extraordinary attendance in giving divine service in two chapels, together with the annual collection for oats, which, rated at 15*s.* a barrel, comes to about £27. He retains for himself £127, and allows his three curates collectively, for their maintenance, the entire residue, viz., £187; in the parish, there are besides two coadjutors, or assisting clergymen, one a secular, the other a regular, who have no fixed stipend or portion of the dues, but derive their support wholly from collections and the public benevolence. It is very large and populous, contains nearly 10,000 acres of bog almost in the centre of it, and 3000 of mountain. The inabitants consist almost entirely, both in town and country, of persons of a very inferior class, viz., petty manufacturers, little dealers, cottagers, and families of the lowest degree.

Summary of the Bishop's entire annual income, under the different foregoing views.

	£	s.	d.
From his Bishopric in stated dues and ordinary benefactions received from all orders of his Parish Priests	96	9	6
Proportion of emoluments resulting from his parish of Tullow	74	0	0
Do. from his *Commendam* of Mountrath...........	127	0	0
	£297	9	6

With regard to fees accruing from dispensations in the publications of bans, no such matter exists in the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. For dispensations in prohibited degrees of kindred, something is indeed at times received, but most commonly to a very trifling amount, being an offering purely gratuitous, never demanded, and perfectly optional in the parties to give or withhold; this *communibus annis* comes to between thirty and forty shillings per annum, and is appropriated to the use of the Roman Catholic Seminary, erected in the town of Carlow; which sum, together with the interest arising from four 5 per cent. Government debentures, literally constitutes the entire established fund and sole permanent emolument actually possessed by that poor, unprotected, alas! and now utterly forlorn institution. It is in such a rueful predicament, at the present crisis, as to enjoy little more than the name of a bare existence: 'tis true it is not actually quite extinct, yet does it, in good earnest, lie gasping, unless promptly succoured on the very point of inevitable dissolution. Tender, therefore, as a parent must be naturally supposed to feel for an expiring child (to waive considerations here of a still superior nature), shall the person to whom this luckless establishment, deserving surely of a better fate, chiefly owes its birth, fondly hope to obtain forgiveness in presuming to approach, on this occasion, his Majesty's Ministers with an humble and earnest supplication to look on it with an eye of pity, and lend their all-powerful support to prolong its existence? Yes! he will venture to implore with confidence their benign attention to the following particulars relative to this unfortunate house, its first origin, and present desperate condition.

No sooner had the repeal of the Penal Statutes taken place, that before opposed an insuperable bar to the erection of Popish schools in this kingdom, than Dr. Keefe, late Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in conjunction with the actual incumbent, instantaneously availed themselves of the auspicious moment, and, with eager zeal, vigorously set about at once commencing this foundation—slender means, humanly speaking, as they could boast at the time, and untoward as the circumstances were in which they then stood for the accomplishment of so very arduous a measure, pronounced, it must be owned, by all persons at the first outset, as an enterprise perfectly Quixotic on their parts—the united incomes of the two founders, both in capacity of Prelates and Parish Priests, not exceeding, it is here conscientiously averred, the sum of one hundred guineas a-year at that period—nevertheless, by degrees, and generously aided by the joint liberality of the clergy and Roman Catholic laity of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin (to the precise limits of which the contributions have ever, from the first beginning to this day, been, save in one solitary instance, exclusively confined,) they at length happily completed their design, and by means of subscriptions universally entered into everywhere throughout the local district of from a British sixpence and a shilling each, (pardon this wretched, impertinent deal) up to a guinea and more, individually, in a few instances, in each parish, combined with hat collections for brass also, in every chapel, did they finally execute the work—a large handsome edifice, nearly 120 feet long, 26 wide in the central part, 36 deep in each end or wing, consisting of four stories above the surface, besides underground apartments for servants, kitchen, cellarage, &c., &c.; the first containing spacious halls for teaching, refectory, and parlour, &c.; the three upper stories, 17 commodious bed-chambers for superior professors and students on each floor; 51 in the whole. The building stands in a remarkably healthy and beautiful situation, in the immediate vicinity of the town, with a piece of ground annexed of four acres and a quarter, the whole recently enclosed on every side by a well-built wall of lime and stone, ten feet high. There is also a very elegant chapel lately built within a few paces of the Seminary, and a neat Infirmary just erected at a more remote distance, but within the enclosure—the entire at an expense little short of £6000, an undertaking originally conceived and taken up on the purest constitutional as well as moral and religious principles, and which eventually proved of extensive, nay, acknowledged national utility, long antecedent to the foundation of Maynooth; though perfected solely at the private charge of the Diocese in which it is situate, one shilling having never been received from any individual, except in the single example already alluded to, or from any other quarter; much less did the authors or supporters of this establishment ever presumptuously aspire to the remotest idea of any such thing as royal bounty or Parliamentary aid, in an extension of the smallest portion of the public money towards effectuating this work. Its object, nevertheless, is precisely the same with that since taken up, so very benignly, by our gracious Legislature, and carried into execution with a splendour and munificence wholly unexampled in any Roman Catholic State in Europe towards the natives of this country in the truly Royal College just mentioned, namely, to provide a general system of domestic education fully adequate to the instruction of our native Roman Catholic youth, particularly those intended for the Ecclesiastical state, and thus preclude an obligation of their recurring, as heretofore, to foreign Colleges and Seminaries for that important end.

Such was the primary design of the Carlow Institution, truly anticipating at an early day the identical views, and actually realizing, as far as it went, the very measures entertained and put in effectual operation at a subsequent period by our liberal and benevolent Government. At an early day indeed, let it be kindly remembered by our gracious chief rulers, did the poor founders of the Carlow Seminary cheerfully step forward, and, at their own private risk and expense, zealously volunteer, nay, I may be allowed to say of this patriotic enterprise, at an era many years prior to the destruction of our Colleges and Seminaries on the Continent; nay, long before the most distant surmise, or slightest boding apprehension had been harboured, at least in these parts, on the score of their impending ruin. It was not, therefore, by imperious necessity they were unavoidably driven to the ultimate adoption of this forced measure; it was not by the total loss and confirmed privation of their foreign resources, that they felt themselves at length reluctantly compelled to turn their unwilling eyes towards internal expedients, become, in this case, absolutely necessary to supply the place of the former; no, no, the reverse is the real fact in regard to this hapless house. The precise epoch of its foundation was that also notoriously of the still flourishing existence and prosperous state of all our Clerical establishments throughout Europe, alike invitingly open at that moment, as at every former period, to the reception of Irish students, and apparently resting all on the most durable and unshaken basis.

The project, therefore, of the Carlow seminary originated, and the building was in consequence erected, under a pressure of numerous concomitant heavy difficulties, from a principle alone of early decided preference in the authors of that institution to a plan of domestic, however comparatively expensive to one of foreign, though gratuitous education. With this motive, may another also of equal force and influence be coupled in strict truth; an anxious wish to act in dutiful conformity to the supposed views and intentions, as they flattered themselves, of our gracious Sovereign in granting a license for this purpose. The Priests continued to bestow on it a guinea or half guinea each after the schools were opened, till it was reckoned to be fully established, when these donations were wholly withdrawn, and it was left, for several years back, to stand on its own bottom, and support itself solely by the extraordinary savings or surplus profits resulting, after the necessary expenditure, from a pension of twenty guineas paid by clerical students, children of the diocese, with some aliens also on the same terms, and £25 pension from all others of a different description. From these economical savings have the various expences of the establishment been for many years (with the exception of the few shillings dispensation money, and the £20 interest arising from the four debentures,) alone defrayed; and on such scanty, fluctuating, and precarious resources, has it even in some degree flourished, till the late enormous rise in the price of provisions, fuel, &c. which has given a mortal blow to our funds, in this way; whilst her younger but highly favoured sister of Maynooth evidently threatens—is it lawful to say?—to kindly follow it up ere long with the *coup de grace*, by the vast diminution in the number of students, clerical particularly, before resorting to it from every province of the kingdom, but who do not, however otherwise well disposed, choose now to pay at Carlow for what they are invited, all both rich and poor, equally to partake of gratis, within the former's privileged walls. In illustration of the truth of this remark, let me be here permitted to inform my illustrious readers, if indeed they have kindly deigned to cast a cursory eye on these lines, that a farmer deemed worth from £14,000 to £15,000 sterling has made instant application to me to name his son to a place in Maynooth. It is needless to add, that his prayer was rejected with indignation.

There are six professors or teachers, resident inmates in the Seminary of Carlow—one of Theology, one of Philosophy, one of Belles Lettres, &c., two of the Classics, and one of writing, &c. The three first are French Emigrant Priests, at a stipend of fifteen guineas each per annum, the most that could be afforded in the present disastrous circumstances of the house. The Professor of Divinity, a man of distinguished celebrity, nevertheless, in his department, and who taught with universal applause in several French Universities—First Teacher of the Classics, forty guineas per annum; Second ditto, twenty guineas; Master of Arithmetic, &c., ten guineas, all boarded, their rooms furnished, and providedwith fire, candle-light, and servants to attend them. Servants four, including a porter, all dieted and lodged, wages unknown, but supposed to be about £32; Ground Rent £50 per annum, and Window Tax alone £30 yearly, wanting a few shillings. Thus the ordinary permanent expences of the establishment are as follows:

Ground Rent and Window Tax	£80	0	0
3 Professors at 15 guineas each stipend	51	3	9
1 do. at 40 guineas	45	10	0
1 do. at 20, and Writing Master at 10 gs.	32	4	6
Board, &c., for four of the above, at £40 each ...	160	0	0
Ditto, for remaining two, at £30 each	60	0	0
4 Servants' Wages	32	0	0
Board for ditto, at £15 each	60	0	0
	£520	18	3
The President, who acts also in capacity of Procurator or Bursar, receives no salary, but resides and is boarded, &c. in the house	40	0	0
	£560	18	3

He is Parish Priest of Carlow, but, from his necessary constant attention in the above capacities to the College, would certainly require a second curate, were there competent means to support him.

The writer is perfectly aware of the inexcusable prolixity and insufferable obtrusion of an address like the present in this place to his Majesty's Ministers: much does he fear to have thereby offended and provoked their displeasure, by taking such an unwarrantable liberty. He can, however, truly say, that his fault has been in a manner wholly involuntary, as he solemnly declares that he had finished the required statement regarding his own situation before he entertained the smallest idea of introducing the Seminary business in any respect, or under any shape whatsoever; but, on mentioning the application of the dispensation money to its use, it in the moment took such a forcible hold of his imagination, that he could not possibly resist the impulse he felt, to embrace the opportunity that presented itself, of laying the truly pitiable state of this fallen institution at the feet of those able to raise it, in a moment, by one benevolent act of their will, from its actual prostrate condition. On the whole, the matter in itself is by no means, as he humbly apprehends, irrelevant to the genuine spirit and main purport of the queries, but rather intimately and essentially connected therewith, eminently involving, as it obviously does, the most precious interests of the Roman Catholic Clergy and Laity, whose wellbeing it is in the gracious contemplation of Government to promote by this measure. He has only to add, in earnestly soliciting the kind pardon, and indulgence of his Majesty's Ministers, for the lengths he has gone, that he would, with all imaginable respect and deference, entreat leave here to submit to their wise and benign consideration, whether, that in the hypothesis of a provision to be made by the Legislature for the Roman Catholic Clergy, they might not think meet to order the deduction of a certain specific portion, or determinate sum, of the subsidy or salary, to be granted to the Bishop and each Priest of the peculiar diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, and its appropriation to the future support of their Seminary in Carlow, as well as the discharge of the considerable debt it has necessarily contracted these two last years, from the extravagant dearness of provisions, and diminution of its resources by the retreat to Maynooth of numbers of students before resorting to it from every province in the kingdom; whilst the wonted permanent expences of the establishment continued to be defrayed without the usual means, Heaven knows how. This is an arrangement most devoutly wished for by the Bishop, and one to which he is satisfied his clergy could have no reasonable objection, already tolerably well provided for, at least, for the most part, as will evidently appear from the annexed statements.

Q. 4. What is the number of Roman Catholic benefices, and what is the value of each benefice, and whence does the value arise, and which are the precise dues which form the value, and does the value so far arise from the greatness and population of the benefice as to show its relative real importance?

Q. 5. What are the numbers of Curates and Coadjutors in each diocese, and to what benefices do they belong, and whence do they derive their support, and are the Curates and Coadjutors Regulars or Seculars?

The Answers in part to those Queries are contained in the following exact list of all the benefices in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, and accurate statements of the respective value of each agreeably to written returns furnished to me by each pastor individually under his own hand in consequence of repeated instant applications made to them on my part to that purport, with the number of Regulars and Seculars actually employed in each parish. Answers to the remaining points alluded to in the Queries will be found in particular observations subjoined to the lists.

Diocese of Kildare.

Parishes.	Income.	Curates.	Extent. Length and breadth.	Population.	No of Chapels.
	£.				
Kildare	170	1	9 miles by 2½	3000	2
Newbridge ...	207	1	8 by 4 or 5	4000	2
Monastereven	150	1	9 by 5 or 6	4500	2
Sancroft	100	Curate wanted	6 by 3	2800	2
Allen	140	1	8 or 9 by 7	4000	2
Rathcoffy ...	120	1	10 by 8	3000	4
Downings ...	85	Curate wanted	7 by 3	2500	2
Carbery	120	1	9 by 3½	3000	2
Kilcock	148	1	4 by 4	3200	2
Ballyna	120	1	9 by 4	3000	3
Naas	111	Curate wanted	3 by 1½	2200	1
Kill	75	1	8 by 6	2000	3

Parishes.	Income.	Curates.	Extent. Length and breadth.	Population.	No. of Chapels.
KING'S COUNTY *District of the Diocese.*					
Edenderry ...	220	1 and a coadjutor	10 or 11 by 5	5000	3
Philipstown...	180	1 and a ditto	12 by 2½	3800	2
Geashell......	120	1	10 by 3½	4000	3
Clonbullock.	136	Curate wanted	6 by 3	2200	2
Portarlington	70	Curate wanted		2200	1
QUEEN'S COUNTY *Quarter of the Diocese.*					
Portarlington	160	1	7 by 3	5500	3
Mountmelick	130	Curate wanted	9 by 3½	2800	2
Kilmannon	120	1 occasionally serving, but always wanted	10 by 3½	2800	1
Rosenallis	110	1 do. do.	7 by 4	2200	1
Sum Total...	£2792				

Number of Curates in actual employ, 14, Coadjutors, 2, entire Population, 67,700 souls, Chapels, 43.

In the above number are three Regulars only: the reason existing for a Coadjutor, or second assisting Priest in Edenderry is, that the Parish Priest is very old, and quite blind; for one in Philipstown, that the Parish Priest is, besides old age, rendered utterly incapable, by his infirmities, of officiating in his chapel.

The Parish Priest of Kill, a poor lame old man, turned of 90 years, gives one-half of the £75, the income of his parish, to his Curate, and would certainly need a second assistant, were there means to support him, having three chapels to be served every Sunday in his parish.

There are two religious houses or convents in the diocese of Kildare; one of Carmelites, consisting of two members, in the town of Kildare, and another of Dominicans at Newbridge, containing also two religions. There is no Regular a Parish Priest in the diocese of Kildare.

Diocese of Leighlin.
Counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Wicklow Districts.

Parishes.	Income.	Curates.	Extent. Length and breadth.	Population.	No of Chapels.
	£.				
Old Leighlin	320	1	10 miles by 5	7400	3
Dunleckney	320	1	10 by 6¼	7500	3
Graigenemana	220	1 and a coadjutor	11 by 4	6500	4
Carlow	171	1	Town, and 20 cabins in the country	3500	1
Borris.........	170	1	7 by 4 to 5	5000	2
St. Moulins..	133	1	8 by 4	3800	2
Baltinglass ...	170	1	6 by 3½	4200	4
Rathbilly	200	1	9 by 4 to 5	4500	3
Hacketstown	140	1	10 by 8	2500	3
Clonmore ...	150	1	9 by 6	4500	2
Tullow	111	1	7½ by 3½	4750	2
Rathoe	90	Curate wanted	6 by 2½	2700	2
Clonegall	170	1	10 by 6 to 7	5000	2
Myshall	120	1	7 by 3½	3000	2
Staplestown	120	Curate wanted	9 by 4	3500	2
QUEEN'S COUNTY *Quarter.*					
Ballynakill...	316	1, a second much wanted; occasionally, an assistant Priest		15,000	5
Mountrath ...	314	3, and 2 coadj.	12 by 7 to 8	12,000	4
Stradbally ...	248	1	12 by 4	4500	2
Maryborough	200	1	9 by 7	3000	2
Arles	200	1	11 or 12 by 8	8800	3
Doonane......	100	1	7 by 4	3000	2
Graige	104	1 and a coadjutor	5 by 2½	2700	2
Sum Total ...	4087	Curates 21 Coadjutors 5		117,350	
Kildare	2792	“ 14 „ 2		67,700	
In both...	£6879	35 7		185,050	
Bishop's ordinary income as such	96 9 6				
	£6975 9 6	Sum Total of the united Income of Prelates and Priests in the Diocese of Kildare, &c.			

Observations subjoined to the Lists.

The Curates derive their support from a proportion of the parochial emoluments: the established usage of the diocese is an allowance of one-third part of the stated pecuniary dues, and also a third of the corn, viz., when they live apart from the Parish Priest; but, when entertained in his house, which is generally the case, a fourth only of the pecuniary dues is given to them with accommodation—grass, hay, and oats for their horse. This modus, however, does not always prevail, a salary only being given; even in some great parishes, as in Ballynakill, Queen's County, the Curate has his board and a stipend of £30 per annum. In the estimate of the parish of Naas is included a perpetual donation of Mr. Burgh, of Old Town, to the present incumbent and his successors, of a house and spot of ground, with the chapel rent-free, to the value of £30 per annum. This gentleman has also not only contributed himself amply to the building of the chapel, but also very capitally, by his influence and exertions in its favour. In the income of Myshall, too, in the County of Carlow, is comprised a grant of ground to the Parish Priest, jointly, from Mr. Cornwall and Mr. Baggot, the landlords, to the amount of £30 per annum; the chapel, rent-free, owes principally its existence to the former gentleman's bounty and liberal exertions in its behalf: not so, may I be permitted to remark, in the Bishop's parish of Tullow, in the same County, where a ground rent of £10 4*s.* 6*d.* is paid for the town chapel, actually, for the greater part, reduced almost to a heap of ruin, without our being able to obtain, hitherto, a lease to rebuild the same. A congregation resorts every Sunday to this place of worship of about 3000 persons, amongst whom there is not a single individual from the country parts who pay the Hearth or Window Tax, save the pastor, who rents a house and about fourteen acres of land in the vicinity of the town at £60 per annum. He begs leave also to observe, that the flock belonging to his chapel of Mountrath, in the Queen's County, is precisely in the same predicament—not one countryman attached to or frequenting it, that is not actually of the class of reputed paupers. This chapel, recently erected by him, nevertheless contains an immense number of people, it being, taken in every direction, 267 feet long and 28 feet wide, with an overflow every Sunday. It is still far from being completed, the work carrying on solely by brass or halfpenny collections and the Bishop's contribution.

Parishes in the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin, forty-three in number; all, except Mountrath, composed, it is supposed, of from two to six, or eight, and, in some instances, more unions. There is only one religious house in the diocese of Leighlin, and that of the Carmelite order, in Leighlin Bridge, consisting of two members. There is a Franciscan Friar resident in Carlow, but no convent. In the above number of Curates and coadjutors in the diocese of Leighlin, there are seven regulars, but no Parish Priest of that order in Leighlin any more than Kildare.

As to the precise nature of the pecuniary or other dues and emoluments in these districts, it is really impossible to ascertain or define them, they are of so very motley and multifarious a description; they vary extremely, not only in different parts of the same diocese, but a striking diversity in this respect sometimes prevails in the several divisions even of the same parish under one Pastor. They consist principally in certain stated contributions at Easter and Christmas, fees for marriages, purifications, mortuary rites, occasional benefactions, or ordinary oblations, whether in money or kind, grain, hay, fuel, candles, feeding of cattle, and collections, particularly for corn, universally made, or one in lieu of it, in every parish, annually, throughout the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, in salaries for extraordinary performances of divine service in chapels of ease, parochial ones, or at gentlemen's houses, &c. There is one general source of emolument, which certainly deserves to be noted here in a particular manner, and which is by no means peculiar to this diocese, but common, I believe, to every one in the whole kingdom, unless in cities and great towns, viz., stations, by which are meant stated meetings, held every year at Easter and Christmas by the Priest in different parts of the parish, both in town and country, in the houses of the upper sort of inhabitants, and such as are best in a capacity to entertain him for the purpose of accommodating the people in the vicinity with a more convenient opportunity of performing certain religious duties usually exercised at those seasons. The Parish Priest and his Curate, unless otherwise engaged, uniformly breakfast and dine at those places on such occasions. The stations, in large populous parishes, generally exceed, sometimes considerably, one hundred in the year, from which, of course, results a very capital saving in the article of housekeeping, especially in times like the present. To conclude, and it is surely high time, all orders of the Roman Catholic Clergy in this kingdom, on the present scale, are alike, both seculars and regulars, dignified and inferior, mere dependents on public benevolence, pensioners on the pure bounty, particularly of that portion of the community which is composed chiefly of the middling and poorer, or lower orders of Roman Catholics, from whom do they, in the country parts confessedly, derive, in a very great measure, their entire support, little more positively (painful and humiliating as the avowal is to the writer's feelings) than a sort of licensed or privileged mendicants, of a more decorous description, and less abject name. Hence, the value of parishes is not to be rated only from the local extent, population, and affluence of the inhabitants, but also in an eminent degree, as is well known, from the qualifications of the collectors of their eleemosynary donations. In this point of view, the sturdy, the impudent, and importunate beggar (shall it be here said) will not fail to make out, as has been already hinted, a tolerably handsome provision in what is called a poor and small parish, while the modest, diffident petitioner, the timid and bashful, or rather silent supplicant, will often fare very ill in the reputed great and rich one. Thus we daily see one man breaking on a good and cheap farm, at the same time that his neighbour gets rich in cultivating, at a high rent, a barren and ungrateful soil.

In the foregoing very hasty indeed, though interminable statement respecting the Seminary of Carlow, one of its main resources was forgot to be mentioned, viz., the material advantage accruing to it from the profitable application of the ground, by which all the students have been abundantly supplied with milk, at least sufficient for their consumption, from its first establishment to the present time. On the eventual determination, once more, of the illustrious personages here addressed, tremblingly hangs, at this decisive moment, the final destiny of this tottering house, rapidly hasting, without a figure, to the ground, unless they are pleased to extend a hand to uphold it. May God in his mercy inspire them to pronounce a favourable sentence! The answers to the Queries would have been more correct, and delivered in yesterday with those of the other Prelates, were it not for the very short notice given to the Priests to make their returns, and the present peculiarly busy and embarrassing season, in the regard of the Christmas stations, which unavoidably delayed the Reports of many amongst them.

DANIEL DELANY.
Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare
Dublin, December 4, 1800. and Leighlin.

The bare deduction alone, he cannot help again observing, of a portion of the allowance, if any, to be granted to the Bishop, and each Priest of Kildare and Leighlin, with its express appropriation to the Carlow institution, would be the very summit of the former's wishes, and a donation, he verily believes in his conscience, the most salutary and efficacious in its operation that could possibly be devised in the present arrangement to the best interests of religion and morality throughout the diocese. The Prelate and his Priests, for the most part, could in this case very well forego such a sum as would place that seminary on a very respectable footing, and render it, without further expence to the State, a powerful succedaneum to the establishment of Maynooth. It would, besides, prove an act grateful, surely, in a supreme degree, to every feeling heart and worthy mind amongst us, and consequently bind them everlastingly, by the most indissoluble ties, to their generous benefactors.—Can they have the goodness to pardon such repeated intrusions here on their patience?—I fear not.

The stations have for many years back been wholly abolished in the parish of Tullow, where they never, when existing, exceeded fourteen or fifteen at each time of Easter and Christmas.

Diocese of Ferns.

To the Queries proposed by his Majesty's Ministers, the Rev. James Caulfield, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, answers as follows:—

1. That the diocese of Ferns has no union; that his annual averaged income is about £200, arising from offerings on dues at Easter and Christmas, from other customary parochial emoluments of the parish of New Ross, which he holds *in commendam*, and which, on an average, amounts annually to £100, two-thirds of which he gives to one Vicar and one coadjutor, who administer it, from procuration fees, commonly called proxies, paid by the parochial clergy, and from fees for marriage licenses, £200.

2. This diocese has a Chapter, consisting of a Dean and eighteen members, the nature of which is explained in the general statement; none of its members, as such, have any stipend; they are generally parish priests.

3. This diocese has four rural deaneries, the Deans of which have no income, as such; their office is also explained in the statement of the archdiocese of Dublin.

4. In the diocese of Ferns, there are thirty-six parochial districts, each consisting of various unions (but it has no other benefice); each district is administered by a Parish Priest and one Curate (when one can be had); a few have two Curates: the value of each shall be shown in its proper place; it generally arises from contributions or offerings at Easter and some at Christmas, at the rate of one shilling annually from each house (the poor excepted), from fees for marriage, for purification, and mortuaries. In the baronies of Forth and Bargy, the Easter dues or contributions are generally received in corn, at the rate of one bushel per score acres, and generally the greatness and population of the district shows its relative real importance.

5. The number of Curates and coadjutors at present is twenty-five, as shall appear in their respective places; many more are wanted; they derive their support from a proportion, generally one-third, of the parochial emoluments, or a stipend, paid them by the Parish Priest. They are at present all seculars.

6. In this diocese, there are fifteen regulars; in Wexford, eight Franciscans; in Ross, four Augustinians; in Clonmines, two Augustinians; and in Horetown, one Carmelite. They are supported by the charitable contributions of the people; they are employed in preaching, catechising, and instructing the people, attending the sick, and assisting the parochial clergy occasionally in the administration of sacraments. The other Queries are answered in the general statement.

A Statement of the Parish Priests and Curates now in the Diocese of Ferns, with their respective Annual Average Incomes.

Parishes.	Incomes.	Curates.
New Ross	£119 0s. ...	1 vicar 1 curate.
Wexford	120 0	1 curate.
Ferns	119 0	...
Ramsgrange	115 0	1 curate.

Parishes.	Incomes.	Curates.
Gorey	£161 0s.	2
Old Ross	60 0	1
Taghmon	30 0	1
Enniscorthy	30 0	1
Bree	40 0	...
Tintern	60 0	2
Davidstown	50 0	...
Killmeashall	65 0	2
Templendegan	95 0	1
White Church	55 0	...
Ballindaggin	45 0	1
Lady's Island	30 0	1
Adamstown	75 0	1
Kilkevan	83 0	1
Rosslare	35 0	1
	£1387 0	

A Statement of the Priests and Curates now in the Diocese of Ferns, with their respective Annual Averaged Incomes.

Parishes.	Incomes.	Curates.
Ballymore	£50 0s.	1
Killevaney	50 0	...
Kilrush	90 0	...
Ballygarret	45 0	...
Monegeer	50 0	...
Tombe	55 0	1
Oulart	40 0	...
Blackwater	45 10	...
Glanbrien	30 0	...
Pierces Town	30 0	1
Killmoore	55 0	1
Duncormuck	65 0	1
Kilmuckridge	40 0	...
Coolefancy	50 0	...

Parishes.	Incomes.	Curates.
Kilmolock	£45 0s. ...	1
Boolebaune	35 0	...
Castlebridge	30 0	
	805 10	
Brought forward	1387 0	
Total	£2192 10	

JAMES CAULFIELD.

N.B.—All the above districts would require a Curate and Coadjutor, but the scarcity of Priests does not allow it, and the income returned on an average of years before the horrid Rebellion and since that disastrous period is considerably lower than it would have been in times of peace and good order. The number killed in that wicked conflict, and executed by the hand of justice, and transported since, has depopulated, and, of course, impoverished many districts; so that the Pastor cannot expect, much less get, dues or fees from the widows and orphans who survive in want and misery, and it must take some time to get rid of this calamity.

Diocese of Ossory.

An Account of the Diocese of Ossory, A.D. 1800.

Dublin, November 29, 1800.

Parishes.	Income.	Clergy.
St. Mary's, Kilkenny...	£160	A Parish Priest and three Curates.
St. Canice's, ditto	150	Ditto and 2 ditto.
St. John's, ditto	100	Ditto and 2 ditto.
St. Patrick's, ditto	80	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Dean's Forth	80	A Parish Priest.
Thomas Town	150	Ditto and 2 Curates.
Inistioge	100	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Rosbarcon	90	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Sliroe	40	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Kibracon	130	Ditto and 1 ditto.

Parishes.	Income.	Clergy.
Rathkyran	120	A Parish Priest and 1 Curate.
Owning	130	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Kilmaganny...............	120	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Callan	120	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Knocktopher	110	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Gowran	140	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Muckalie	110	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Castlecomber	140	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Ballyragget	160	Ditto and 3 ditto.
Freshfield	110	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Ballicallan	95	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Durrow	90	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Galmay	100	Ditto and 1 ditto.
Rathdowney	100	A Parish Priest.
Lisdowney	80	Ditto.
Aghavoe	130	Ditto and 1 Curate.
Upperwoods	120	Ditto and 1 ditto.
St. Kyrans	40	A Parish Priest.
Grennan	50	Ditto.

In all, 29 Parishes and 30 Curates.

But it should be observed, that Rathdowney, Lisdowney, and Deansforth, would require Curates, but cannot at present be supplied, on account of the scarcity of Priests in this Diocese. This does not cease to be true; though there are three Curates in some parishes, and two in others, the great labour and the great number of calls in some parishes render many Curates necessary.

There are fifteen Regulars in this Diocese; viz., four Dominicans, four Capuchins, two Carmelites, two Augustinians, three Recolets, or Franciscans. There are two of the above Regulars employed as Curates.

The annexed statement was returned to me by the Rev. James Lanigan, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory.

J. T. Troy.

N.B. The Curates in the Diocese of Ossory are generally maintained by the respective Parish Priests, who also give them an annual salary.

The income of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, as such, arises from the annual contributions of his twenty-eight Parish Priests, amounting to forty guineas.........£45 10 0

	£	s.	d.
Parish Priests, amounting to forty guineas	£45	10	0
He holds the parishes of St. Mary's, Kilkenny, and of Ballyragget, *in commendam*, and receives from each £160	320	0	0
	£365	10	0

His Curates in both parishes have salaries from him, and a stipulated proportion of certain dues, or contributions, which altogether may be averaged at £25 per annum for each Curate.

J. T. Troy.

4. ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TUAM.

The Number of Roman Catholic Benefices, or Parochial Divisions, in the Diocese of Tuam.

(Distinguishing the Unions, with as much accuracy as could be obtained, specifying the averaged income of each, and those in which Curates or Assistants are employed.)

N.B. C. R. denotes a Canon Regular, R. a Regular of any other order.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	Tuam, held *in commendam* by the R. C. Archbishop	3	150[1]
2	Westport, *alias* Oghavel, part of Aghagowrer and Morisk	2 R. R.	140
3	Castlebar, *alias* Eglish Ballyhane and Brefy	2	130
4	Annah and Becan (one Curate, a R.)	2	130

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[1] All the Chapel expenses, wine, washing, candles, &c., are to be deducted from this sum.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
5	Ballinrobe	1	100
6	Newportprat, R., requires a second Curate	1 R.	100
7	Dunmore	2	100
8	Clare, *alias* Kilcoleman, Pastor, infirm	2	90
9	Knock and Aughamore	1 R.	90
10	Turlogh and Kilticomoge	1	90
11	Ballinakill, Bofin, and C. R.	2 R. R.	90
12	Kittullagh	1	80
13	Ross, C. R.	1	70
14	Cross Boyne and Tagheen	1	70
15	Clare, Tuam, and Kilmoilan	1 R.	70
16	Cong, C. R.	1 R.	70
17	Kilmaine and Moreguga	—	70
18	Headford, &c.	1 R.	70
19	Partry, *alias* Ballyovey	1	60
20	Moiras, C. R.	1 R.	65
21	Hollymount, *alias* Kilcommon	1	65
22	Templtogher and Bouina	1	80
23	Island Edy	1	65
24	Kilkerrin and Clonburne	1	75
25	Kilmina, a Curate much wanted	—	65
26	Kilmaesser	—	65
27	Athenry	1 R.	60
28	Balla Drum and Minola	1	65
29	Kinconla and Kilbannan	1	60
30	Moylogh, &c., the Incumbent not able to act	2	65
31	Monivea, *alias* Abberd	1	60
32	Anadown	1 R.	65
33	Kilgivour	1	60
34	Isles of Aran, a Curate much wanted	—	60
35	Moora, a Curate wanted	—	60

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
36	Adricoole and Liskeave	1	65
37	Ballindoun and Omey, C. R.	—	50
38	Ballintobber	1	50
39	Aughagower	—	50
40	Mayo and Rosslee	1	45
41	Ballincalla and Kilmalara, C. R.	—	40
42	Donoghpatrick	—	45
43	Burriscarra, C. R.	—	40
44	Kilvine, &c.	1	45
45	Ackill	—	40
46	Kilererin	1 R.	40
47	Abbyknocmoi, R.	—	40
48	Menlogh, *alias* Kiloscobe	—	40
49	Killannon	—	40
50	Kilcooney and Kilkilvery	—	40
51	Robin	—	30
52	Menna	—	36
53	Garumna	—	36
54	Clare Island and Innisturk	—	36
55	Lackagh	—	45
56	Kilmine, in the centre of the Diocese of Clonfert	—	25
57	Spiddal, R.	—	36

The income of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, from May 1799, to May, 1800, arising from proxies and other dues paid by his Clergy, from a share of the emoluments of the parish of Tuam, and from marriage dues for licenses in bans, was £497—the preceding year it was near £100 less.

Were the Clergy duly paid, their income would be more considerable than the sums specified above; but the yearly salary of 2*s.* 2*d.*, which they are supposed to receive from each family, and which forms the chief support of the Parochial

Clergy in this Province, is collected with much difficulty, and is attended, particularly since the late troubles, with considerable insolvency.

EDWARD DILLON.
R. C. Archbishop of Tuam.

The Wardenship of Galway.[1]

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
	St. Nicholas, divided into four, viz.		
1	St. Nicholas, East Suburbs	1 R.	87
2	Ditto, West Suburbs	1 R.	70
3	Ditto, Woodquay Quarter	—	15
4	Ditto, Middle Quarter	—	25
5	Lydecan	—	40
6	Clare Galway	1	66
7	Rahoon	1	130
8	Moycallen	1	96
9	Kilcummin	1	84
10	Shrule	—	30
11	Oranmore, &c.	1	100

Diocese of Kilmacduagh.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	Gort, *alias* Kilmacduagh	1	70
2	Kinvara, held *in commendam* by the Bishop	1	70
3	Beagh	—	70
4	Ardrahan	—	70
5	Kilthomas	—	50
6	Kilcrust, &c., the Bishop's income £100	—	45
7	Kiltartan	—	45
8	Killora, &c.	—	60

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[1] The revenues of the Warden, including the income of his parish, amount to £102.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
9	Killeely, &c.	—	50
10	Drumacoo	—	50
11	Kilbeacanty	—	60

No Regular of any description resides in this Diocese.

Houses of Regulars in the Diocese of Tuam and Wardenship of Galway.

Ballyhannis	Augustinians	3	Galway	Franciscans	6
Ballinsmale	Carmelites	1	Ditto	Augustinians	3
Crewbane	Carmelites	2	Ditto	Dominicans	4
Kilroe	Franciscans	3	Clare Galway	Franciscans	4
Morisk	Augustinians	1			

There are seven other Regulars in the Diocese of Tuam, who are not attached to any House, nor employed either as Priests or Curates.

Diocese of Killala.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	Ballina, &c., held *in commendam* by the Bishop	2	120
2	Ballynahaglish, *alias* Bacas, ditto.	2	120
3	Crossmolina	1	100
4	Adrigoole	1	90
5	Killala	—	80
6	Lakan	—	80
7	Kilbride, &c.	1	80
8	Ardagh	—	60
9	Ballisakerry	—	60
10	Meegawna	—	60
11	Kilfian, &c.	1	80
12	Kilcommon	1	90
13	Kilmore Erris	—	60
14	Cross	—	60

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
15	Ballycroy, &c.	1	80
16	Templeboy	—	90
17	Drumard	—	60
18	Skreen	—	60
19	Eskey	—	60
20	Kilglass	—	60
21	Castlecomer	—	60

No Regular of any description resides in this Diocese. The Bishop's income, arising from Proxies, &c., as above, amounts to £315 per annum.

The above statement is exactly conformable to the Documents which have been transmitted to me from the said Diocese.

EDWARD DILLON,
R. C. Archbishop of Tuam.

The entire number of Regulars in the Diocese of Tuam and Wardenship of Galway is 53. Canon Regulars have been employed, time immemorial, as Pastors in the Diocese of Tuam; other Regulars have been more frequently employed of late, in consequence of the great scarcity of Clergy.

Diocese of Elphin.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	St. Peter's Athlone, held *in commendam* by the Bishop	2	130
2	St. John's, Sligo	2	140
3	Roscommon	1	100
4	Ahascragh, &c.	1	70
5	Kiltoom, &c.	1	70
6	Ballintobber	1 R.	70
7	Oran, &c., R.	—	60
8	Castlered	1	90
9	Kilbequet, &c.	—	65
10	Killhian	—	70

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
11	Athleague	—	56
12	Dysart, &c.	—	50
13	Drum	—	46
14	St. John's	—	60
15	Kilmain, R.	—	30
16	Rahara, R.	—	34
17	Kilroran	—	56
18	Caltragh	—	50
19	Tisrara	—	40
20	Killenboy, &c.	—	28
21	Kilkeevan	—	60
22	Turtey	—	68
23	Lisachell	—	60
24	Basilick	—	56
25	Glynsk, &c.	1 R.	78
26	Ogela, &c.	—	60
27	Kilcorkey	—	56
28	Loghglin, R.	—	60
29	Kilteeven	—	40
30	Kilbride, &c.	1 R.	70
31	Kilgifin	—	45
32	Clontonskirt, R.	—	40
33	Lisanuffy	—	70
34	Clonfinlogh	—	50
35	Strokestown, &c.	1	100
36	Kiltrustan	—	40
37	Kilglass, &c.	1 R.	90
38	Tarmonbarry	—	54
39	Kilmore, &c.	—	60
40	Boyle, &c., one of the Curates R.	2	110
41	Aghanack	—	45
42	Killucan, &c., a Curate wanted	—	65
43	Ardcarna	—	60
44	Dysertnoone, &c.	—	50

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
45	Creeve, &c.	—	40
46	Elphin, &c.	1 R.	80
47	Kilmaconna	—	36
48	Aughrim	—	58
49	Tibohin, &c.	1 R.	70
50	Carganroe	—	36
51	Colry, R.	1	60
52	Drumcliffee	1	90
53	Magharone	—	50
54	Ahamslis, &c.	1	90
55	Knocknarea, &c.	—	40
56	Taughnagh, &c.	1	70
57	Kilross, &c.	—	70
58	Kilmacoln, &c.	—	40
59	Kilmacatranny, &c.	1	80

The income of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin, arising from Proxies, &c., paid by his Clergy, and other dues, as mentioned under Statement of the Diocese of Tuam, may amount to £450 per annum.

Houses of Regulars in the Diocese of Elphin.

Sligo	Dominicans	2	Elphin	Franciscans	1
Clonshanvill	Ditto	2	Toghergare	Carmelites	3
Roscommon	Ditto	6	Hermitage	Augustinians	4

Not all constant residents, and some of them employed in parishes, as mentioned above.

N.B. Athlone and Sligo require a greater number of assistants than can be provided for at present; some other parishes are nearly in the same predicament.

The above statement of the Diocese of Elphin is conformable to the information obtained by me.

EDMOND TRENCH,
Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin.

Diocese of Kilfenora.

In the Province of Cashel, but united to Kilmacduagh, in the Province of Tuam.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	Kilmachree, &c., held *in commendam* by the Bishop	1	70
2	Innestymon and Clooney	1	70
3	Kilfenora, Nohaval, &c.	1	60
4	Carrin and Kilcorney	—	25
5	Kilshanny	—	30
6	Killmoon, &c., a Curate wanted ...	—	60
7	Glaninack, &c.	—	50
8	Abbey and Ochamana	—	40

The Bishop's income specified above, in the statement of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh. No Regular of any description resides in this Diocese.

Diocese of Achonry.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	Kilmactige, held *in commendam* by the Bishop, one of the Curates R.	2	100
2	Kilcoleman and Castlemore	2	80
3	Kilbeagh	1	60
4	Kilmacvee	—	45
5	Killanduf	1	60
6	Killasser	1	60
7	Meelick	—	45
8	Killedan, a Curate much wanted ...	—	65
9	Templemore and Bohely	1	80
10	Toumore	—	50
11	Attymas	—	50
12	Kinigaravan	—	36
13	Curry	—	65
14	Achonry	—	45

No.	Parishes.	Cnrates.	Income. £
15	Clonacool	—	50
16	Killoran	—	50
17	Kilvarnard and Ballysadere, a second Curate wanted	1	100
18	Kiltora and Clonohill	—	50
19	Kilshally and Drumrath	—	45
20	Tomour	—	40
21	Kilmorgan and Imlafad	1	55
22	Kilfree	—	40
23	Kilaract	—	36

The Bishop of Achonry has kept no regular account of his income, but it may amount to about £200 per annum; there are about eight Regulars in his Diocese, three of whom are employed in parishes which he does not specify.

EDWARD DILLON,
R. C. Archbishop of Tuam.

Diocese of Clonfert.

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
1	Tynagh, held *in commendam* by the Bishop	1	60
2	Eyrecourt and Clonfert, &c.	1 R.	80
3	Lusmagh	—	50
4	Tahy and Mulick	—	30
5	Killimor, &c.	—	60
6	Portumna, &c.	1 R.	60
7	Ballinakill, one Curate, a Regular	—	80
8	Doonery	—	50
9	Killeendema, &c.	1 R.	70
10	Loughrea. The Incumbent pays the Bishop £10 per annum	1	100
11	Kilconiran Karrabane, R.	1 R.	70
12	Kiltullagh, &c.	1 R.	70
13	Grange, &c.	1 R.	60

No.	Parishes.	Curates.	Income. £
14	Kilreekill	—	40
15	Ballimacaward, &c.	1	80
16	Kilconnell and Aughrim, R.	—	50
17	Toanagh, &c.	—	40
18	Ballinasloe, and a Curate wanted	—	70
19	Taughmaconnell	—	40
20	Clontonskirt	—	60
21	Boulemore and Killoran	1	60
22	Kiltormer, &c., R.	—	40
23	Killallaghtan, &c.	1	50
24	Leitrim	—	36

The Bishop of Clonfert mentions that his income is badly paid, and that, in the course of the last year, it amounted only to the sum of £116 16*s.* 6*d.* The inferior Clergy are also badly paid in this Diocese. The above estimate states rather what they were entitled to, than the sum which they have actually received of late.

Houses of Regulars in the Diocese of Clonfert.

Loughrea	Carmelites	4
Bould	Dominicans	3
Meelick	Franciscan	1
Esker	Dominicans	9

Total of Regulars in the Diocese of Clonfert, twenty, of whom nine are employed in parishes.

There are two other Regulars not attached to any house, in the number of those employed in parishes, and one who neither resides in a convent nor is employed by the Bishop.

EDWARD DILLON,
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam.

Institutions of Religious Catholic Women in Ireland, with the number of their houses and individuals therein, and where placed.

The religious institutions are six, namely:—Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Teresians or Carmelites, Ursulines, and of the Presentation, being a branch of the Ursulines.

The individuals of all these institutions embrace them for the purpose of retirement, in order the more readily to spend their lives in contemplation and prayer, and in the instruction of young persons of their sex. They cannot be admitted into them, nor make the usual vows without the approbation of the respective Bishop: before they bind themselves to this state, they must be postulants in a state of probation for one year or more. They are governed by an Abbess or Superioress, elected every third year by themselves, and directed by a Chaplain and Confessor, appointed by the Bishop.

Their funds and income arise from the small fortune they have, which is put at interest, and remains for the benefit of the house, and from what they receive from boarders educated in the house, and from others who lodge in it.

Houses.	Individuals.
Dublin.—Dominicans, Brunswick Street	6
Poor Clares, or Franciscans, Dorset Street	12
Ditto, North King Street	6
Presentation, George Hill, where the poorest children are taught gratis, agreeably to the rules of the order ...	10
Teresians or Carmelites, Renalagh, near Dublin ...	12
Cork.—Ursulines: for the education of pensioners ...	24
Presentation	6
Drogheda.—Dominicans	12
Galway.—Dominicans	8
Poor Clares	6
Augustinians	4
Limerick City.—Teresians, or Carmelites	3
Killarney.—Presentation	4
Kilkenny.—Presentation	3
Thurles.— Presentation	3
Waterford.—Presentation	3
Total	122

N.B.—Of the Chaplains to these sixteen houses, nine are Secular Priests, and seven of the Regular Orders. In all these houses visitors or persons on business are admitted. The religious women seldom or never go abroad. All do great good by their edifying example, and by educating poor children and pensioners, and instructing both in the principles of religion.

N.B.—As Ireland, since the Union, forms the same kingdom with Great Britain, the French emigrant Clergy, now in Ireland, about fifteen in number, humbly hope that the benevolence of the Legislature and Government may be extended to them in the same manner as their brethren in England partake of it.

HISTORICAL MEMOIR ON THE DISPOSAL OF CHURCH BENEFICES IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

It appears, from the early pages of our history, that the princes of the different States of Europe were in full possession of the nomination and investiture of all the great benefices in their respective dominions. Of the latter it appears incontestable that the respective sovereigns were in the entire enjoyment, from the time of Charlemagne till towards the close of the 11th century. This ceremony of investiture was performed by the delivery of the Ring and Pastoral Staff. That they were likewise in effectual possession of the nomination to all the great benefices of their dominions is likewise certain, as well from the histories of those times, as from the former fact of their being entitled to the investiture; for although, strictly speaking, the right of nomination existed in the ecclesiastical electors of the particular See, yet, as the Prince might refuse investiture as often as he thought fit, joined to the circumstance of his being possessed of the power of issuing the *congé d'élire* at his own convenience, and in the mean time possessing himself of the temporalities of the See by his writ of *custodia temporalium*, he in effect rendered himself master of the election. This was the practice throughout Europe till the papacy of Gregory VII., who, in his memorable dispute with the Emperor upon this subject, was the first Pope that endeavoured to deprive a Sovereign Prince of this right of investiture.

In England no successful attempt of this kind was made till the reign of Henry I., down to which period it does not seem that the Pope had any further right of interference in the appointment of Archbishops and Bishops, &c., save and except by delivering to them the pall: a ceremony which appears not to have been essential to the appointment, because every necessary ceremony of investiture and consecration was fully performed before it was usual to demand the pall, and, by these ceremonies of investiture and consecration, the benefice was actually full, and the person invested and consecrated in the entire right of exercising his functions. The acceptance of the pall seems merely to have been an acknowledgment upon the part of the person promoted of the superiority of the Holy See; and that such acceptance was by no means necessary to put a person into the complete possession, as well of the spiritual as the temporal functions attached to his benefice, appears from some, though it is to be acknowledged rare, instances in our early history, of Archbishops and Bishops having exercised all the duties of their Sees, without ever having received or even demanded the pall from the Popes: and these instances did not excite any degree of emotion, nor do they appear to have been looked upon as extraordinary.

Anselm, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in a portion of the reigns of William II. and Henry I., had resided at Rome during the latter part of the former reign, and, while there, was present at a Council, in which it was decided that any ecclesiastic, who in future should receive the investiture of his benefice from a Laic, should be excommunicated. Upon his recall to England, at the beginning of the reign of Henry I., he refused to consecrate such Bishops as had received investiture from the King, or even to do homage to the King for his See. Upon this a violent dispute arose between the King on one part, and the Archbishop and Pope Paschal II., who then occupied the papal chair, on the other. This contest continued without intermission for three years; that is, from the year 1103 to 1106, in which last year it was terminated by an agreement that the King should surrender the right of investiture, and that the Pope should permit the Archbishops and Bishops to do homage to the King for their ecclesiastical fiefs.

This seems to have been the first effectual step made by the Court of Rome towards that infinity of usurpations in the appointment to the great benefices of England, with which our sometime subsequent history is replete. It does not, however, appear that the Popes took any very immediate advantage of this concession, for the purpose either of interfering in or defeating the canonical elections; for, upon the death of Anselm, we find the Bishop of Rochester unanimously elected and appointed to the See of Canterbury; and, during the remainder of this reign and that of Stephen, the Popes seemed no further to have interfered in the appointment of Archbishops and Bishops, &c., than was conformable to the above arrangement.

During the reign of Stephen, however, it is not to be denied that the power of the Clergy very much increased; and although it did not particularly show itself in the appointment to benefices, yet such a foundation was laid in this reign, as enabled the Court of Rome in those succeeding to make the vast strides towards absolute power which appear in the course of our history.

In this reign, the Canon Law was first introduced into England. Down to this period, then, we may conclude, with regard to the appointment to the great benefices of the State, that, although the Crown had, as above related, departed from the right of investiture, yet the Popes had not hitherto interfered in the elections or appointments of Archbishops and

Bishops in England; and the whole English history, from the cession above mentioned, made by Henry I. to Paschall II., to the reign of Stephen, will clearly show that the Crown, as well by the means of recommendation as by its right of issuing the *congé d'élire*, and retaining the temporalities in its hands, by which it was enabled to enforce its recommendations, had still all the advantages of the effectual nomination to the principal benefices: for a single instance does not appear, during the above period, of a recommendation of the Crown having been disregarded.

The power and general influence of the Clergy, however, still increased. They had entirely abstracted themselves from the common law courts in all criminal matters, and arrogated to themselves the exclusive jurisdiction over their own members, as well for offences of an ecclesiastical as for those of a temporal nature; insomuch that, early in the reign of Henry II., this Prince was determined, if possible, to humble that body. Finding it necessary, in such an attempt, to have the first prelate of England on his side, and conceiving Becket, then his Chancellor, a fit person to co-operate with him in the undertaking, and one in whom he could best confide; Becket was for this purpose raised to the See of Canterbury. How miserably Henry was disappointed in the person thus raised is but too manifestly shown in the Church history of that Prince.

It is needless here to enter into a minute account of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and the continued contentions relative to them, which subsisted for the space of seven years between the King and Becket, because they do not appear particularly to have borne upon the principal point of the appointment to benefices. One thing, however, is evident, from the unanimity with which these Constitutions were signed, as well by the Laity as Clergy (without the exception of Becket himself), that whatever usurpations had been made at that time by the See of Rome were of a recent date, unacknowledged by the English, and that the acknowledged power of the Pope did not further extend than to superiority (in its strict sense) in matters of Church discipline.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, as far as relates to the Church, consist of five articles, the substance of which is as follows:—1st, That no appeals should be made to Rome without the consent of the Crown. 2ndly, That no Archbishop or Bishop, &c., should be allowed to go to Rome, even should he be cited thither by the Pope, without permission from the King. 3rdly, That, without the consent of the King, no immediate tenant, or other officer of the Crown, should be excommunicated or suspended. 4thly, That all Ecclesiastics, accused of capital crimes, should be subject to the jurisdiction of the common Law Courts. 5thly, That Ecclesiastical causes in which the people at large were interested, as tithes, the repairs of churches, &c., should be subject to the King's Courts. It is to be observed that these articles were afterwards, in the year 1171, in effect given up by Henry (as far as the King can of his own sole authority give up what has been enacted by Parliament) upon his absolution by the Pope's legate from the murder of Becket.

During this reign (of Henry II.), a natural son of the King's having been elected to the See of Durham, was refused his bulls of confirmation at Rome, because he declined taking the family name of his mother; and this is the first instance I have been able to meet with of the Court of Rome exercising any positive authority in the appointment to the great benefices of the kingdom. Neither, in fact, will this, when investigated, appear as any unreasonable interference in the Court of Rome, because, as I understand, it has always been an article of the Romish discipline (though, it must be confessed, very frequently violated, even in the earliest periods), that a bastard should be incapable of appointment to Church benefices. If, then, a person of this description should be tendered to the Pope for his confirmation, and, refusing to throw a veil over the turpitude of his birth, should present himself for approbation, in open defiance of the regulations of that Church of which he seeks to become a dignitary, the rejection of that person can scarcely be called an interference in the election or appointment of a Prelate to the See from which he had been presented.

An instance of another kind occurred during the reign of Richard I., which was of Geoffrey, natural brother of the King, being elected into the See of York, without any recommendation from the Crown, but this may be accounted for, from the King's absence, at the time of election on his way to the Holy Land; and when, upon the knowledge of this election coming to the King's ears, and upon his testifying his disapprobation of it, it is considered that Geoffrey offered to give up his situation, and besought the pardon of his brother: this will furnish an additional proof of the almost absolute power of the Crown over elections down to this period.

From the first years in the reign of John we are properly to date the great and successful endeavours of the Court of Rome to seize into their hands the almost entire disposal of the great benefices of England. Both in this and the succeeding reign of Henry III., the instances are so manifold of the Pope's disposing of the Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, &c., that it would be a matter of greater difficulty to point out instances of their not having exercised this power than of their having done so. It may, however, be necessary shortly to touch upon the progress of this usurpation.

In the first year in the reign of John, upon the vacancy of the See of Lincoln, this Prince having, according to the custom of his predecessors, recommended a person for election, the recommendation was treated with the utmost contempt, and another person chosen. This appears to have been the first instance in our history in which the recommendation of the Crown was directly disregarded, and historians allege this conduct in the Chapter to have proceeded from the measures previously taken by Innocent III., who then filled the papal chair, and who, as they (with every appearance of reason) assert, was determined to deprive the Crown of all power or influence over the elections of dignitaries of the Church; and little doubt can remain from the subsequent transactions of this reign, that this determination was taken for the purpose of arrogating to the See of Rome even a greater power over the appointment to the great benefices of the kingdom than the Crown ever pretended to.

This will appear, from the conduct of Innocent, which took place upon the subsequent elections: upon the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, his breaking the election of the subprior of that Church, who, upon the vacancy, had been elected by some of the monks of St. Augustine; his breaking, likewise, that of the Bishop of Norwich, who had, upon the same vacancy, been elected into the See of Canterbury with the approbation of the King, and absolutely put into the possession of the temporalities; and, finally, by his commanding a deputation of the monks of St. Augustine, then in Italy, under penalty of excommunication, to elect Cardinal Stephen Langton into that See. Hence that dreadful contention which arose between the Courts of England and of Rome, which lasted above eight years, during the greater part of which the kingdom was laid under an interdict, the King excommunicated, which terminated by the shameful resignation of his crown to the Pope's Legate, and consenting as well to receive Langton, as to pay implicit obedience to the See of Rome.

In the reign of Henry III., upon the death of Langton, which happened in the year 1228, the then Pope Gregory IV. having broken the election of Walter, of Hemesham, of his own sole authority appointed Richard le Grand Archbishop of Canterbury; upon whose death, in 1231, after three elections had been annulled by the Pope, he permitted the monks to choose Edmond, Canon of Salisbury.

We see, from these instances (taken from a variety of others), how completely, at this time, the Popes were in possession of the nomination to the great benefices of the kingdom. Neither was the Pope's usurpation confined to these alone: we see, about 1240, a Nuncio sent to England with an order to all the Bishops and patrons of Churches to present 300 foreigners, whose names were particularly mentioned, to the first vacant benefices.

These usurpations of the Pope seem to have been founded, 1st, on the concession made by Henry I. of the right of investiture; 2ndly, by the concession made by Henry II. of that article of the Constitutions of Clarendon which forbade appeals to Rome; 3rdly, by the Pope's encouraging the chapters to disregard the recommendation of the Crown, as in the instance above mentioned of the See of Lincoln; and, 4thly, by the introduction of the clause of Nonobstante into the papal bulls of appointment, by which such persons as the Pope thought fit were nominated to vacant benefices, "notwithstanding the right of the patron or other privilege to the contrary;" 5thly, and, more than all, by the assumed Seignory of the Court of Rome, upon, and subsequent to, the resignation of the crown of England by King John.

But, although the Crown was thus, in a certain degree, deprived of its direct interference in clerical elections, and the Court of Rome had arrogated to itself upon this subject far greater powers than our princes had ever enjoyed, yet, we find, after the resignation of the crown by John, both in the reign of this Prince and his immediate successor, the King stooping to the Pope, and, through his means, appointing persons to the high dignities of the Church. A memorable instance of this occurs in the year 1238, when, upon the death of the Bishop of Winchester, Henry III. endeavoured to procure this See for his brother-in-law, then Bishop of Valence; he therefore strongly recommended him to the electors, but, disregarding his solicitations, they made choice of the then Bishop of Chichester, upon which the King sent ambassadors to Rome, who, having made several submissions upon the part of their master, procured the election of the Bishop of Chichester to be annulled by the Pope.

A variety of other instances occur, in which the Crown still interfered in elections, in many of which its solicitations were attended with success. Indeed, having still, as far as I can discover, the power of issuing the *congé d'élire* at its own time, (although even this part of the prerogative was sometimes foregone by the usurped power of the Pope) the King might, and frequently did, withhold this authority to elect, until the electors had resolved to choose the person of his recommendation; but this must be understood only of those cases in which the Popes did not wish to interfere.

It is needless to go into particular instances during the remainder of this reign of Henry III. of the absolute power of the Popes in the disposal of benefices; it will likewise be unnecessary to point out the multiplied usurpations exercised by them in the appointment to every species of Church benefice throughout the whole kingdom, during the subsequent reigns, even down to the Reformation. It will be sufficient to state generally that among the grievances under which the English laboured from the Popes in the reigns of the three first Edwards, that of Richard II. and their successors was this, that the Court of Rome had usurped the collation to almost all benefices, without excepting Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, contrary to the rights of the Crown, of the Chapters, and of the patrons.

This usurpation went so far, at different times, that there was scarcely a Church benefice of any magnitude of which the Popes did not dispose by the various means which they had invented, in order to render themselves masters of every collation. This was done sometimes by the plenitude of their Apostolic power, as in cases where benefices became vacant by translation to some other benefice, &c. By these means they eluded all the canonical elections made in England, generally without alleging any other reason than that they had reserved to themselves the right of nomination to those benefices. But, as these pretensions of the Popes were not usually acquiesced in, but generally became the subject of much contention; and as those persons who had been canonically elected most commonly were supported by the King; the Popes invented the mode of disposing of the benefices of the kingdom before they became vacant, by way of provision.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the English tamely submitted to these usurpations; on the contrary, it will appear that, from their very first creation, the people of England uniformly opposed them; that, under vigorous Kings, or when the Popes were weakened by the schismatic divisions which frequently occurred in the Church, the exercise of these usurpations was suspended; that, although the Clergy were almost uniformly subservient to the Pope, yet they were likewise in fear, and paid obedience to those statutes enacted to prevent papal usurpations; and that, whatever claims the See of Rome may pretend to in the appointment to Church benefices in England prior to the Reformation, they can neither found those claims upon original justice, nor upon a subsequent peaceable and uninterrupted possession.

Thus, we see, in the reign of Henry III. (although this Prince seems to have had a very good understanding with the See of Rome), the exactions of the Pope became so great, that the Lords determined to act of their own authority in order to put a stop to them: they ordered the Governors of all the ports to arrest those who should bring bulls or mandates from Rome. The King likewise consented that the barons should write to the general Council then assembled at Lyons under Pope Innocent IV. an exposé of the grievances suffered by England from the See of Rome. They likewise ordered the Pope's Nuncio to leave the kingdom. The principal grievances enumerated in these letters from the Lords were two: 1st. The tribute of 1000 marks, which John had engaged, annually, to pay to the Holy See, upon which point their ambassadors insisted that John had no right to render his kingdom tributary. 2ndly. The clause of Nonobstante, which totally destroyed the rights of Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Abbeys, monasteries, &c., and usurped those of the patrons of benefices. It does not, however, appear that these letters were attended with any very beneficial effects.

In the reign of Edward I., "upon complaint of the commonality, that the Bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices, were founded by the Kings of England, to inform the people of the law of God, and to practise hospitality, alms, and other works of charity, for which end they were endowed by the King and people of England; and that the King and his other subjects, who endowed them, had, upon evidences, the presentments and collations of them, which now the Pope had usurped and given to aliens, by which the Crown was disinherited, and the ends of their endowment destroyed, with other inconveniences. Therefore, it was ordained that these oppressions should not be suffered in any manner." In the same reign, the statute of Mortmain was enacted, which, by preventing the future alienation of lands in mortmain, put a stop to the increasing wealth of the Clergy.

This Prince likewise obliged all Archbishops, Bishops, &c., to renounce that article in their bulls, by which the temporalities of their Sees were conferred; the necessity of which may serve to show that the Popes did not confine their usurpation to things spiritual alone.

During the reign of Edward II., I do not find any endeavours made upon the part of that weak prince to throw off the yoke of Rome. Whatever the dispositions of the Barons and people of England in that reign may have been to free themselves from Papal usurpation, the King seems to have rested upon the assistance of the Pope against his own subjects, with whom he was continually at war, and by whom he was finally deposed.

But, in the time of his successor, Edward III., the statutes against Provisions from the Court of Rome, and Premunire, were first passed. By these it was ordained, "That the free elections, presentments, and collation of benefices, should stand in the right of the Crown, or of any of his subjects, as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome; and, if any did disturb the incumbents by virtue of such provisions, they, or those employed by them, were to be put in prison till fine and ransom made to the King at his will; or, if they could not be apprehended, writs were to issue to seize on them, and all benefices possessed by them to fall into the King's hands; and all provisors, or those who sued beyond seas, were put out of the King's peace."

In the reign of Richard II., these acts were further amended and enlarged, and other acts made to restrain the usurpations of the See of Rome. These principally were, 3 Richard II., c. 3, 12 Richard II., c. 15, 16 Richard II., c. 5. In this last act, which was against purchasing bulls from Rome, it is declared, "that the Crown of England is subject to none." Notwithstanding these statutes, the Popes, from time to time, still interfered in the appointment to benefices. I do not, however, find that they did so to the same extent that they had formerly done; in fact, as these statutes could not directly operate upon the Pope's person, there was no way by which to circumscribe his power, but by affixing the penalty upon the person who should acknowledge its existence, by deriving a benefit from it; and this we see was, in some cases at least, successful. For, in the year 1398, the Pope translated the Bishop of Lincoln to the Bishopric of Chester, and gave the Bishopric of Lincoln to Henry Beaufort, son of the Duke of Lancaster; but the Bishop of Lincoln, who does not seem to have looked for this translation, dared not accept of it, through fear of becoming obnoxious to the statutes, and therefore retired to a monastery. This instance, as mentioned in history, will furnish two observations; 1st, that the statutes were of *some* service, by preventing the clergy from carrying the usurpations of the Pope into their full effect; and 2ndly, from the surprise and indignation with which it is said Richard was affected from this interference of the Court of Rome, it may be concluded that, at least, this sort of proceeding had not been, of late, very common; indeed, the manner in which the statutes above cited seemed to pinch the Court of Rome is likewise apparent, from the frequent endeavours made, both in this and the succeeding reigns, upon the part of the Popes, to obtain their repeal.

It appears, however, that these laws were not always well executed, and that, whenever opportunity occurred, (that is, whenever they found themselves strong enough, under the then existing schisms of the Church), the Popes continued their usurpations. In the reign of Henry IV., therefore, it became necessary to pass divers other laws against their encroachments. I shall here set out the substance of that which bears principally upon the subject before us. By the 9th Hen. IV., c. 9, it is enacted, that elections of all Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Abbeys, &c., and other dignities elective, shall be free, without being interrupted by the Pope, or by the commandment of the King. "Pourveux toutez foitz" (as the statute goes on to say) "que nostre dit Seigneur le Roi cit auxi franchement sez libertéz et prerogatiff come aucune de ses nobles progenitours ait eue devant ces heures ou come luy mesmes ait a cest temps de fesaunce de cest estatut."

These laws, had they been properly executed, would probably have destroyed the usurped power of the Popes in England; but, notwithstanding that the schisms in the Romish See, which lasted from the year 1378 to the year 1409, presented an excellent opportunity for shaking off the unjust power of the Court of Rome, yet the peculiar circumstances of affairs in England prevented that exertion on the part of the Crown, which, it is to be presumed, would otherwise have been used. The troubles which took place during the latter part of the reign of Richard, the interest of Henry IV. to keep well with the Clergy, who had been of much service to that prince, in assisting him to the throne, the usurped title by which he held it, and his consequent fears of exciting so considerable a body as that of the Clergy against him, the great anxiety of Henry V., in the conquest of France, during his endeavours to attain which, it might have been imprudent to have stirred up, not only the Clergy but the Pope against him—these may be assigned, among other reasons, for the apathy with which these wholesome laws against papal usurpations were carried into execution. That they were, however, of some effect, is not to be denied: this will appear clear, from a subterfuge which the Pope frequently used during this period, in order even nominally to evade them, by prevailing upon some of the Bishops canonically appointed to accept of bulls of provision confirming their titles. This was carried a step further in the year 1413, upon the election of Henry Chicheley to the See of Canterbury. John XXIII., then acknowledged Pope in England, annulled this election of Chicheley's, stating, that for this he was resolved to dispose of the See by way of provision; but, in all probability, being afraid of the consequences of his pretences upon the subject, he thought it prudent to grant his bulls of provision to the same Henry Chicheley.

In the papacy of Martin V., however, this Pontiff again endeavoured to gain to the See of Rome the entire disposal of all the benefices in England; and it appears that, within the short space of two years, he granted bulls of provision for thirteen Bishoprics in the province of Canterbury. This happened in the reign of Henry V., who, by no means disposed to submit tamely to such conduct, sent ambassadors to Martin, who informed him that their master had sent them out of deference to the Holy See, although he was by no means obliged so to do, in order to remonstrate with him upon the late usurpation; but that in future the King was determined to make use of his own prerogative for the purpose of preventing the repetition of such abuses. The answer of the Pope on this subject does not appear; but, some time afterwards, Martin, having translated the Bishop of Lincoln to the See of York, by way of provision, the Chapter of York refused to receive him, and the Pope was, therefore, obliged to revoke the bulls which he had issued for this purpose. Thus we see that even Martin V., than whom no Pope was more strenuous in his endeavours to raise the power of the See of Rome to its utmost pitch, was sometimes restrained by these statutes.

This will likewise appear, and more strongly, from the vigorous efforts used by this Pontiff to obtain the repeal of these statutes, evidenced in his letters to Archbishop Chicheley, in 1426 and 1427, and in those written by him to the King and to the Parliament in 1427, upon the same subject; in the former of which he calls the statute against provisions "exacrabile statutum;" in the two latter, "detestabile statutum;" and desires them, as they value their salvation, immediately to repeal them. All these endeavours, however, proved ineffectual, and these statutes at the time of the Reformation remained, and still remain, unrepealed upon our statute-book.

From this period, down to the reign of Henry VIII., historians pass rapidly over our Church history; but, by what I have been enabled to collect, it seems that the Popes made little future use of provisions, or, at least, if they did, that they had the King's consent, from time to time, for so doing.

The Popes and Kings, during this period, appear to have gone shares in the appointment to the great benefices. For as, upon the one hand, the Pope's bulls of confirmation were necessary in order to invest an Archbishop, Bishop, &c., with the spiritualities, so also the King's influence seems to have been in some degree guarded; 1st, by his right, upon the vacancy of a Bishopric, of seizing upon the temporalities, by writ of *custodia temporalium;* 2ndly, by his issuing the *congé d'élire* (which, notwithstanding the testimony of some historians, was, I am inclined to think, never wholly laid aside) at whatever time he might think fit; 3rdly, by his right of recommendation; and, 4thly, by his retaining the temporalities in his hands, after the consecration of the Prelate, until fealty sworn, and until, by the same oath, he should renounce every clause in his bulls — "Omnibus et quibuscunque verbis, clausulis, et sententiis in ipsis Bullis Apostolicis, contentis et descriptis, quæ sunt vel in quovis modo in futurum esse potuerunt præjudicialia, sive damnosa nobis, heredibusque de corpore nostro legitime procreatis, Angliæ regibus, coronæ, aut regno nostro, juribus vel consuetudinibus aut prerogativis ejusdem regni nostri." After which oath, and homage done, a writ, called *restitutio temporalitatum,* issued to put the Archbishop or Bishop in possession of the temporalities of the See.

It must be presumed that, during this period, some express or tacit agreement was entered into between the Popes and Kings of England relative to the disposal of church benefices; for we do not find one instance in which any disagreement took place between them upon this subject. If such disagreement had occurred, no doubt we should have found some traces of it. It may therefore be concluded that both parties found their interests in keeping well together, and this, added to the unhappy state of the kingdom during the wars of York and Lancaster, will account for the Crown not having put the statutes against Papal usurpation into execution from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Henry VIII., even if any great usurpation actually existed during that period.

In the reign of Henry VIII., we find Wolsey, under the colourable authority of his legacy, but, in defiance of the statutes above-mentioned, disposing of all the benefices of the kingdom, as well by way of provision as otherwise, without any regard to the rights of the different churches, the monasteries, or the patrons. For this he was afterwards accused by the Attorney-General, under the statutes of Richard II. But this was not till after the commencement of the suit upon the King's divorce, which first gave rise to the Reformation.

I have now gone through a short, though probably incorrect and certainly imperfect summary of our ecclesiastical history, as far as relates to the appointment to Church benefices, from the time of William the Conqueror down to the Reformation, from all which I think myself entitled to draw the following conclusions:

1. That the Popes neither had nor ever exercised any power in the appointment to Archbishoprics or Bishoprics in England from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Henry I.

2. That, during that period, the only right claimed by the Popes was merely that of delivering the pall to the newly-appointed Prelate—a ceremony by no means essential to his complete investment in all the spiritual as well as temporal functions of his benefice.

3. That, although the accord made between Henry I. and Paschal II., whereby the former departed from his right of investiture, was originally contrary to law, as being unsanctioned by any public assembly, yet, being acquiesced in from thence to the Reformation, a period of above 400 years, it may perhaps be considered as an absolute vested right in the Popes, unless the proviso in the statute 9 Henry IV., c. 9, can be deemed a bar to this conclusion; but that, except in this instance, the Popes have no valid claim to interference in the appointment to the benefices of the Church.

4. That the Popes can found no just claim to the disposal of benefices from the resignation of the crown by John, or from the various inventions made use of by them to seize this right of disposal into their hands, because the resignation of the crown by John was an illegal act, unsanctioned by Parliament, its validity denied in the succeeding reign, and from thence to the present time, and Acts of Parliament were, almost from the first usurping strides of the Pope, enacted to curtail his power, which Acts, although not executed as they ought to have been, yet still remained unrepealed upon the statute book, and kept up, as it were, a continual claim against the usurpations of the See of Rome.

5. That the Popes cannot reasonably be admitted to assert that Acts of Parliament do not affect them; for we see various instances (and more particularly that of Martin V.) of their solicitously urging their repeal.

6. That, should even this be falsely alleged, the Popes can set up no claim from an uninterrupted possession, because frequent instances occur, from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry V. inclusive, in which their rights in this respect were disputed.

7. That the Kings of England were, from the Conquest to the time of Henry I., in the full possession of the effectual nomination to all the great benefices of the kingdom.

8. That the concession made by Henry I. of the right of investiture, could, only in its most forced construction, operate as giving a negative power to the Pope upon each appointment.

9. That, notwithstanding this concession, the Kings of England did effectually enjoy the right of nomination to all Archbishoprics and Bishoprics down to the reign of John.

10. That the proviso of the statute of Henry IV., as well as saving every other prerogative of the Crown formerly enjoyed by our Kings, in the appointment to benefices, may be considered, and perhaps set up, as an additional impeachment of any conclusion formed by the Popes from length of enjoyment, even of this right of investiture.

11. That, with the exception of this right of investiture (which may likewise admit of a question), the Kings of England ought to be in the full enjoyment of the effectual nomination to all the great Church benefices.

I have hitherto considered this subject as relating to England alone, but it will be found, from the few additional lines with which I shall conclude this epitome, that the same arguments which, in this respect, are applicable to England, are likewise with justice to be applied to Ireland. By a perusal of the Bull granted by Pope Adrian IV. to Henry II. for the conquest of Ireland, there is nowhere to be discovered any direct or implied words by which it is to be understood that Ireland should be in greater subjection to the Pope than England. There is, no doubt, a general saving in this instrument "of the inalienable rights of the Church," but it must be recollected that there is scarcely any grant to be met with from the Popes which did not contain these words. They seem to have composed a general sweeping clause inserted in every Bull, however explicit in other points, for the purpose of laying foundations for future claims. The object proposed by this Bull is to correct the vices, to reform the manners of the Irish, and, above all, to reduce them to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy. These, and the payment of Peter pence, which is likewise explicitly mentioned, are the principal circumstances given in charge to Henry by this instrument; and, for these purposes, he is exhorted to do whatever he shall think best or most advisable. Now, it is scarcely to be supposed that Henry, who at the very commencement of his reign had had it so much at heart to abate the power of the Church, should think it best or most advisable to raise that power to a higher pitch in his newly-acquired dominion of Ireland, than that to which it had already been raised in England. But, to cut this matter short, we find that, in the reign of the same Henry, soon after the conquest of Ireland, a Council or Synod was held at Cashel, for the express purpose of putting the Church of Ireland upon the same footing with that of England, which appears to have been accordingly done. It may likewise be observed, that the Popes can found still less pretensions over Ireland than over England, from the resignation of the crown by John, when it is recollected that the Archbishop of Dublin (who appears to have been the only Irish Prelate at that shameful ceremony), was likewise the only one who, of all those assembled, protested against it. We see, however, the same usurpations practised by the Popes in the appointment to the great benefices in Ireland as in England. It would be unnecessary to point out particular instances of these, or particular instances in which the Popes were disturbed in the exercise of these usurpations, in both of which Ware's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland" abounds.

It will be sufficient to conclude with stating that the endeavours of the Pope were the same in both countries, and that the instances of successful opposition, sometimes on the part of the Crown, and at others on the part of the Chapters, are at least as frequent in the Irish as in the English annals.

II. TITHES.

Part I.

By Lord Castlereagh.

Tithes are a deduction from the profits of the land. As a mode of paying the Clergy, they are liable to the following objections:—

1st. They discourage improvement much more than a money-rent, which generally is of a stated amount, for a limited period, and, where grass land is exempt from Tithes, they operate as a bounty against cultivation.

2nd. Tithes, as an income to the Clergy, are difficult of collection and uncertain in their value; if the Clergy keep them in their own hands, they receive *much less* than their value, which induces them in general to farm them out to inferior Tithe-Proctors, who, by levying them with rigour, bring the Church into odium, without enriching its ministers.

3rd. The remedy the tenant has against execution being a notice to the clergyman to take his Tithe in *kind*, where the Parish is extensive and the farmers numerous, the difficulty of drawing it home is such, as to encourage combinations amongst the people, and to teach them, under the forms of Law, to cheat and harass the Clergy.

4th. These inconveniences are felt more strongly in Ireland, where the habits of the country require certainty and duration in the tenure to encourage the Tenant to lay out capital in the improvement of the land, where seven-eighths of the population are Dissenters from the Established Church, and consequently more impatient of any inconvenience arising from it, and where, from the disposition in the Clergy to non-residence, the system of farming Tithes to persons of a very low description is very general. In the grazing Counties, the charge of Tithes is particularly felt. The rich grazier, who holds a great extent of country in grass land, pays little or nothing, whilst the poor under-tenant, who holds perhaps only three or four acres under him at a rack-rent, pays the full Tithe for his potatoes and oats.

In order to obviate these objections, and to put the Clergy in possession of an income less uncertain in itself, and which shall be yielded with less reluctance by the people, it is proposed that, in lieu of Tithe demandable in kind, an acreable payment shall be settled for each species of produce at present subject to Tithe—That the amount so settled shall be demandable without any variation for twenty-one years—That, at the end of said period, in case either the Incumbent or three-fourths of the Parishioners paying Tithe desire it, the Justices at Quarter Sessions shall, upon an inspection of the general average for the Kingdom of each species of grain during the three years next preceding, so alter the rate per acre that the payment for the ensuing twenty-one years shall bear the same rate to the average of the last eight years, as the rate per acre of the former period did to the average of the eight years immediately preceding its settlement, and that a similar right of demanding a revision shall arise to either party at the end of every twenty-one years.

The effect of this would be to give the Clergyman an income certain in its amount, not more invidious in its nature than the landlord's rent, and of a description which, were he resident, as he ought to be, in his parish, he might collect himself without the assistance of Proctors and their intermediate profits. The farmer, secure of his tenure for twenty-one years, and confident that it could only vary, even at the periods of revision, in proportion to the average price of grain, would embark boldly in improvement, and the Church be thus fully protected against the disadvantages of a money-rent.

There seems an insuperable objection, in point of practical justice, to commuting Tithes into an acreable rent, without reference to the nature of the produce taken from the land.

Such an arrangement, exclusive of the unequal value of land, so long as land under crop is liable to Tithe, whilst land under pasture is exempt, and so long as certain parts of the kingdom are in a greater degree given up to pasture than others, any principle of equalization would be felt as merely removing the burthen from the tillage to the pasture Counties; and, so far from operating as a measure of conciliation, must produce such a transfer of burden as could not fail to create the utmost dissatisfaction and resistance.

The same objection seems to lie against any acreable rate of payment for the several articles of produce now chargeable, as applied indiscriminately to the whole kingdom. Perhaps the average price of grain does not very materially differ, but that of potatoes does; and the state of cultivation, and of course of produce, varies so extremely, that no common measure could be taken up without making such a revulsion in the state of private interests as must leave a strong local grievance, either on the side of the clergyman or his parishioners, in each parish.

It therefore seems indispensable for the purposes of conciliation, that a system of local arrangement should be acted upon in each parish in which a settlement immediately applicable to the relative interests of the parties may be made, and which, once settled, should for ever after remain an established modus within that parish, subject only to be varied proportionably with the price of the different species of grain, or, in other words, with the variation in the value of money, at stated intervals, as above alluded to. The income of the Clergyman would then at all times preserve its due relation with the value of money, and would improve in proportion as the tillage of the country advanced.

There seem to be two principles upon which such a settlement may be taken up—the one compulsory on the parties, the other permissive; the latter less liable to produce resistance, the former of more speedy operation, and consequently of more extensive effect.

Should it be deemed unwise to attempt more at first than to enable the parties at their option to agree on such an acreable commutation, giving the agreement so made a perpetual effect under the regulations above stated, instead of a mere incumbency continuance, which is the utmost that can now be arranged, and which may be defeated by removal as well as death, all that seems necessary to guard against is a collusive or ignorant bargain on the part of the Incumbent, injurious to the interests of the Church. The parish, it is presumed, will take care of itself; this might be obtained by making the approbation of the diocesan, and, as a further security, that of the metropolitan, necessary to give validity to the contract; but, as this would in fact give two individuals the indirect power of rendering the measure inoperative, perhaps a power of appeal to Chancery, where the equity of the contract should be finally decided on, might be expedient, in order to give the utmost latitude of operation to the principle, consistent with a fair attention to the rights of the parties concerned. It is essential to the execution of any arrangement of the nature above alluded to that the act of a certain proportion, either two-thirds or three-fourths of the parishioners, should be binding on the whole, as is at present usual where a common is to be enclosed and divided.

If a process somewhat more compulsory should be thought expedient, it is submitted that either party, that is, either the incumbent of the living or three-fourths of the parishioners, should be enabled to call upon the other party to come into such a settlement. If the parties should agree to the terms, the contract might then be submitted as above for approval. If they cannot agree then, each party should be bound to name a referee, to whom the question should be submitted, with power to call in a third. If they differ, the arbitrators to act upon their oaths; and in case either party should neglect or refuse to appoint a proper referee, the Chancellor should be authorized, upon the application of either party, to make the appointment. That the referees so appointed should be bound under a penalty to make an award within a time certain, which award should be binding unless upon an appeal to Chancery, the same to be lodged within one year, the award shall be set aside; in which case a new reference should be directed to take place, and so on till either the award is acquiesced in by the parties, or approved of by the Chancellor. The right of appeal ought to be in the parishioners, the incumbent, the diocesan, or the metropolitan; this seems to afford an adequate protection to all the interests concerned, reversionary as well as immediate.

In case of any new crop being introduced into cultivation in any parish on which Tithes are payable, an acreable rate to be settled according to the same rules of proceeding.

The only question of difficulty seems to be, to lay down any principle which shall guide the judgment of the referees in settling the proportion of value which shall be deemed a reasonable profit for the Clergyman to receive, when he has a legal right to a full tenth of the annual produce; it is objectionable in principle by positive enactment to say that he shall be entitled only to one-twentieth, or even less; and yet in general throughout Ireland, but more particularly in the North, the Clergyman himself, whatever his Proctor may extort, does not receive more. Perhaps the better way is rather to leave the claims of the parties, as well those in expectation as in possession, to operate equitably on the minds of the trustees, according to the view they have of their practical value, than to attempt to lay down any legal direction, which would be in itself an obstacle to the arrangement, adapting itself to the usage of the respective districts, and of course to the expectation of the parties. It is to be observed that the scheme above suggested does not interfere in any degree with a power existent at the same time, by which the Clergy shall be enabled, under certain regulations, to commute their Tithes for their value, either in land or money. The operation of the latter measure must in

Ireland be necessarily slow; from the want of capital amongst the proprietors of land, the former principle of commutation is much more applicable; but, unless the Clergy are not only enabled but bound to give the usual lease of the country, which is a lease for lives as well as years, it is to be doubted whether the extension of ecclesiastical property in land would be a benefit. At present, the estates of the Church are inferior in point of cultivation to those held by laymen; a difference altogether arising from the tenure, which is limited to twenty-one years, consequently requires annual renewal, and gives the Clergy an immediate means of charging the tenant in the amount of the fine with the value of his own improvements.

PART II.

September, 1800.

It having been suggested, in a former paper, that a Tithe-table should be settled in each parish, either by consent or by arbitration, and that the same should be subject to revision at the expiration of every twenty-one years, so that the amount should vary proportionably with the average acreable rent of arable land within the parish; it is proposed to consider whether, as a more eligible arrangement, a proportion between the value of rent and Tithes might not to be settled, so as to enable the Legislature by law to oblige all persons hereafter letting land to charge their tenants for Tithe in proportion to the rent, or so to make their bargains as to subject themselves to the payment of a certain acreable rent in lieu of Tithes; the amount, although payable to the Clergyman by the landlord, not to bar the former from having his remedy against the occupant, as at present, if he shall think fit, in which case the Tithe receipt to be available to the tenant in discharge of so much rent. It is thought that throwing the payment in appearance, as, in fact, the charge must ultimately fall on the landlord, would be particularly advantageous in Ireland, where the mass of the occupants are Dissenters, whereas, the majority of the proprietors are of the Establishment.

As this regulation professes to apply to contracts hereafter to be made, the first question that presents itself is to determine upon what principle you will regulate the commutation for lands already demised, a large proportion of which are occupied by persons holding either under freehold grants, lives renewable for ever, or leases for long terms of years, the rent varying according to the period at which the grant was made, bearing no proportion to the present value, and either not at all improvable, or at so remote a period as not to make any distinction in point of argument.

Though the proposed arrangement may not be applicable to lands so circumstanced, this consideration cannot be held to be conclusive against it; it only seems to indicate that so far its operation is narrowed. In order to reach such possessions, a rate of payment, with reference to the value of the Tithe itself, must be fixed, which cannot be expected to bear any uniform ratio to rents, which, being reserved at periods remote from each other, have themselves no uniform proportion to the true value. The practice of fining down rents requires also consideration; as far as existing tenures are concerned, the difficulty does not vary from that above alluded to; with respect to future contracts, it may not be easy to compel persons to disclose truly the amount of fines received, or to calculate their additional value in rent, so as to admit of the proportionate charges in lieu of Tithes being fairly struck; the rather as there will be a disposition, both in the landlord and tenant, to evade the payment of Tithe.

There seems no difficulty likely to arise from a succession of derivative tenures, of whatever description they may be, provided the interest of the occupant is determinable; on every renewal, he will be charged the improved rent, and the amount will be distributed back according to the interests of the respective landlords, whilst the Tithe commutation will be either paid as at present, by the occupant, or charged by the landlord in the gross amount of his rent.

The considerations already stated, with reference to existing tenures not determinable, will apply to all perpetuity grants hereafter to be made; and, indeed, unless you compel a uniformity in the tenures upon which lands shall be let (which is not feasible in itself), the improvement of the income of the Clergy seems to depend on a principle rather too uncertain; namely, the duration of the tenure which the landlord shall choose to adopt, and not on any fixed measure of the progressive value of Tithes applied at equal intervals to all.

If you can suppose a uniformity of tenures to prevail, and no grants to be made, which should postpone beyond a reasonable time a revision of the rent, and that the amount of rent was fairly ascertained, without any secret understanding as to a fine, there seems no objection, in point of abstract justice, to make the Tithe always follow the rent in a fixed proportion, assuming that the landlord, for his own sake, will be a sufficiently faithful guardian of the interests of the Church. But, as these requisites are extremely uncertain, there seems a large proportion of lands so anomalously circumstanced, as not to admit of any proportion between rent and Tithes, but which requires an arrangement specially applied to itself, which shall be founded upon an estimate of the value of the eccleaiastical dues themselves, without reference to rent; and, if such a system can be devised upon unexceptionable principles, the desideratum is, in fact, obtained, and it may then be generally acted upon, without the complexity of adopting different modes of procedure for ascertaining the rate of payment.

But, even where all the above requisites occur, it may be doubted, at least with reference to Ireland, whether an acreable payment, in proportion to rent, without a further limitation, would afford either a just or satisfactory principle of settlement: were Ireland a country in which the successive system of husbandry prevailed, and in the generality of which arable and pasture land bore their due proportion to each other within each farm, it would be immaterial to the occupant whether he paid the amount of his Tithes by an assessment on his land generally, or, as at present, on his land under crop. But, whilst in Ulster the manufacturing farmer has three-fourths of his farm, perhaps in the whole not exceeding 15 acres under corn, flax, and potatoes, all subject to Tithe, the Connaught farmer holds 500 or 1000 acres of rich pasture land, paying no Tithe at all; the rents in the two provinces being nearly equal in amount, perhaps rather higher in Connaught for land of the same quality, where, from fewer people subsisting on the land, a larger share of the profit is received by the lord of the soil. It is evident, from the above statement, that if a proportion between rent and Tithe is taken as the measure of payment, it must, in its application, be restricted to land bearing titheable crop.

The unequal degree in which Tithes are at present levied in the different provinces of Ireland has already been stated, in a former paper, as an insuperable objection to any one general proportion being applied to the kingdom at large. This consideration seems to prescribe a local arrangement, and the settlement, being made parochially, appears likely to prove the most satisfactory to the parties. If it is to be done by parochial settlements, a rate for each species of Tithe (which in Ireland are few in number) would probably be more acceptable than a general rate for each acre, without distinction of crops: this opinion is founded on the fact of incumbency bargains being at present usually, if not invariably, made on the principle of a distinction of rates.

Whether the system of a Tithe-table, regulated as above suggested, or a proportionable rate between rent and Tithe be acted upon, it may generally be observed, that the same difficulty attends the original settlement of the one as of the other; and, in fact, the two plans differ principally in the provision they contain for carrying forward ecclesiastical, in their due proportion with other incomes; in either case, you must first ascertain the value of the Tithe itself, and, if you can once fix a fair commutation for the Tithe of an acre of any sort of grain, the relative value of every other description is already perfectly understood; and, before you attempt to settle a rate of payment for the titheable land generally, you must not only calculate the value of the Tithe of each species of crop chargeable, but also ascertain, in some degree, their usual relative proportion in quantity to each other within the parish.

If, as the basis of either measure, or indeed any measure, the quantum of commutation must first be settled, either by the consent of the parties, or by arbitration, all you want, in addition, is some principle which shall give the Church, at proper intervals, a fair advance in proportion to the improvement in other incomes: for this purpose, none seems so just as the rent of land; but it is to be considered whether an average of the value of arable lands, estimated in each parish at stated intervals, under certain regulations, is not preferable, as a standard of proportionate increase, to leaving the variation of the income of the Clergy to depend on the arbitrary bargains between the landlord and occupants, which may be liable to fraudulent concealment, which, from the inequality of tenures, must be a criterion unsteady in its operation, and, in fact, leaves the whole class of perpetual grants to be settled upon some other principle.

As far as it may be deemed expedient, on the ground of policy, to make the landlord answerable for the Tithe in the first instance, this regulation may be adopted in one case as easily as in the other, and can in neither be suffered to affect existing contracts; if this point is equally attainable in either plan, and if the rent can only avail as a measure of increase, the true difficulty is to determine on a mode by which the *quantum* of commutation to be given to the Clergyman, in lieu of Tithes, shall be settled. If it is to be done by the consent of the parties, with the approbation of the Ordinary, it is in truth only repeating so far the restrictive statute of Elizabeth, which was introduced to prohibit commutations, which were then frequently made without any provision whatever for subsequent improvement. As the injustice of this principle is fully obviated by either of the plans under consideration, there seems no reasonable ground of objection, on the part of the Clergy, to an income so commuted and secured in point of improvement.

The strong objection to this plan is the probable slowness of its operation, and its consequent inadequacy to produce, within any reasonable time, a general commutation of Tithes. Could a compulsory measure be taken, on principles just in themselves and satisfactory to the Clergy, the effect would be much more extensive and beneficial. As the basis of any such proceeding, you must be prepared to state that the interest of the public, with a view to the improvement of land, requires that the Clergy should part with their rights to payment of Tithe in kind, on receiving a just and full equivalent; such is the ground upon which individual property is always made subservient to the public improvement or accommodation.

In the case of a canal, or any public work, carried on by commissioners authorised to take private property for the purposes of this trust, on condition of making compensation to the owners, where the amount of the damage cannot be agreed on, a jury is empannelled, whose verdict is final. This system has worked well in both countries for a series of years, and, though latterly of very extensive application, has been productive of no visible dissatisfaction—why should not the same principle be applied to Tithes?

The Church, as a body, may be particularly jealous of any compulsory interference with their property, and the probability of alarm, on their part, may make it more prudent to let the permissive system operate for some time at least, and be well understood before any attempt is made to enforce it. Was there no particular reluctance on the part of the clergy to commute a very inconvenient description of property for one much less embarrassing in its nature, there would not occur much practical difficulty in ascertaining a fair equivalent in money for their present rights in Tithe, whether it was assessed by a jury, as in the case of damage done by public works, or by commissioners, as in the case of enclosures, or by arbitrators to be nominated by the parties; in most instances substantial justice would be done, and the commutation so settled would, in the course of a few years, relieve the Church from much of its present embarrassment.

There appears, at first sight, much difficulty in laying down any rule which shall guide the judgment of persons charged with assessing the quantum of commutation to be paid in lieu of Tithes, but the same observation applies with nearly the same truth to a question of damage affecting any other description of property; a jury can in no case confine its estimate to the present profits; it must take into consideration contingent improvements; they must decide what income is likely to be made from the property in question, and, under such a prospect of increase, what the property is really worth: so of Tithes, they would inquire what was actually received, what prospect there was of an increase, and when it might be expected to accrue, and give the clergyman a rent equal to what, in their judgment, he could hope either to receive himself or to let his Tithes for within the period to a solvent tenant. In neither case can any precise rule be laid down; the value of every description of property is affected by a variety of local considerations; and as the degree in which a right can be realized and received in value makes a substantial feature in the value of the right itself, and as that consideration can be measured by past experience and by probabilities, there seems no more difficulty in judging of it than in taking into consideration the various circumstances of a speculative nature affecting every description of property. The mere question for decision in each parish would be—what may the Tithes be expected to produce during the ensuing twenty-one years? and, that being settled, to ascertain what acreable rent will produce an equivalent income to the clergyman. Such an arbitration, connected with a principle of revision, would carry with it an advantage to the Church, which, in a common case of damage, the proprietor does not receive; the latter only receives in capital or in rent the value of his property, in which improvements very remote tell for little; the clergyman is to receive a present equivalent, with a perpetual security against depreciation, as well as his share in future improvement.

If anything is to be done on the subject of Tithes, the alternative is between a permissive and a compulsory system; the former was the practice of England before the 10th of Elizabeth, but laid aside on grounds of objection which might have been obviated at the time, and may now be easily corrected; the latter has long been, and is at this day, the law of Scotland; and, although unaccompanied with any fixed measure of increase to the clergy of the nature at present proposed, that point being left, within certain limits, altogether in the discretion of Commissioners, the regulation has been found sufficiently to answer the purpose. The feelings of the Church are, of course, to be attended to, and this consideration may at present, in prudence, induce a hesitation as to the latter measure; but, on general principles, there seems no reason why either should not be acted upon with advantage, provided the Church is secured against a declining revenue. It is much to be doubted whether the mass of the clergy would be averse to such an arrangement; in general, they feel the inconvenience of their present mode of payment, and are desirous of being relieved from it; added to which, the principle in question secures to them for ever a progressive increase of profits in proportion to the rent of land; whereas, at present, in point of fact, the improvement of Tithe by no means keeps pace with the improvement of rent. This consideration of itself will naturally recommend it to the clergy, as securing to them their station in the scale of society, without exposing them to the odium of a perpetual struggle in defence of their own interests.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE TITHE SYSTEM IN IRELAND.

The first object pointed out in Lord Castlereagh's very able statement of considerations which arise from the Union with Ireland, is the condition of that country, with respect to the provision for the Clergy of the Established Church by the payment of Tithe. The peculiar circumstances by which the state of the Church of Ireland in respect to Tithes differs from that of the Church of England seem to be these:—

1st. The Tithe in Ireland is in a very great degree collected for the support of a Clergy, which has no spiritual relation to the bulk of the inhabitants of their parishes. The Protestant Dissenter is scarcely less hostile than the Catholic, who considers the Clergy of the Establishment as intruders and usurpers of the rights of another order of Clergymen, to which he is exclusively attached.

2ndly. The Tithe is partial in its collection, and, the pasture land being totally exempt from any payment, the occupier of arable land feels his condition by comparison to be unjust; the poorest occupier feels this inequality the most, for, in the grazing countries, the Tithe is chiefly levied on the crops raised, not for sale, but for the sustenance of the labourer, who holds the land as the wages of the work he is bound to do for his landlord.

3rdly. In Ireland it is supposed there are no lay patrons, but that the livings are generally in the gift of the Diocesan, which must tend to prevent that union between the landed interest and the Clergy of the country which is so essential to their mutual support.

4thly. A practice prevails generally in Ireland, little known in England, of the Incumbent letting his Tithe to be collected by a person called a Tithe proctor, who can have no motive but mere humanity to restrain him from the most rigorous exaction; and, by holding the Tithes of a number of contiguous parishes, he may take them in kind, and become a dealer in corn, potatoes, &c.; or, which is a usual course, he may take notes for the amount of the Tithe upon his own estimate, and, by renewing these notes and bringing actions upon them, he will wear out the substance of the farmer, and acquire to himself a usurious profit. Under all these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Tithes in Ireland should be felt as a severe burthen, and should be a subject of very general complaint, which has often broken out into the most serious commotions.

The case thus stated is certainly highly worthy of consideration, with a view to the welfare and tranquillity of Ireland; and the first question seems to be, whether any remedy can be applied to that case specifically without affecting the state of the Church of England, now united with that of Ireland. Upon the best consideration I have been able to form of this question, it appears to me impossible to frame any regulation that would not either directly, or, in its consequences, materially affect the state of the Church in England. Complaints have not been unfrequent, for some years past, of the burden of Tithes in England; considerable bodies of men have been instigated to form resolutions on the subject; it is a subject of declamation for all who are in any way disaffected to the Establishment; to many well meaning persons the Tithe seems to be an obstacle to the extension of agriculture, and various schemes have been proposed for substituting some other provision in lieu of Tithe.

Under these circumstances, it would be rash, and unwise in an extreme degree, to bring forward any discussion on any part of the subject without taking a view of the whole, and holding as a fundamental principle that the union of the Established Church in Ireland and in England is entire, and their interests inseparable. It seems necessary, then, to take a view of the question in its utmost general form—Ought the Clergy to be supported by the payment of Tithe? There is no occasion to enter into a discussion of a point often agitated with some heat and much learning, whether the payment is a positive precept of Scripture. Those who maintain that point, and their characters are respectable, would be shocked at the abolition of Tithe; but it is enough to know that the institution is of the highest antiquity in the Christian Church, that it is too sanctified in the opinion of men religiously disposed, and too closely interwoven with the political system of a Christian kingdom, to be safely made the subject of sudden change by any compulsive measure.

It is also to be considered whether the inconveniences stated to attend it do not, in a great degree, arise from the decreased piety of the Clergy as well as of the laity.

A Tithe moderately collected by a resident Clergy, attentive to the kind offices and duties of their station, would not only be lightly felt by those who pay, but would strengthen the connection between the Incumbent and his parishioners much more than the receipt of a fixed salary. In the present state of things, however, when non-residence and other neglects of duty are so frequent, and a great part of the laity are not very scrupulous in taking any advantages they can to evade the payment of Tithe, it must be admitted that contests of interest frequently arise between the Incumbent and the parishioners injurious to both. It must also be admitted that the charge of a Tithe operates in many cases as a check to the improvement of land. It should not seem to be impossible, without any infringement upon the right of Tithe, to provide a remedy which, in a moderate compass of time, would remove these two inconveniences, which are the only real objections to the Tithe system; for it never can be allowed that a dissent from the Establishment shall be deemed a just cause of exemption from contributing to its support.

The owner of the soil and the Incumbent of the living stand in a situation somewhat similar with respect to the occupier, by whom the land is cultivated, each being to receive a proportion of the produce or its value. The landlord's proportion is settled by contract; the Incumbent is by law entitled to one-tenth of the produce; but, as there are few cases in which he can make the same advantage of that tenth which the occupier may do, his proportion, in fact, must be less, and the amount of it furnishes a subject of contest between him and the occupier: from the variety of soil, of produce, and of markets, no general rule could be fixed that would be just and satisfactory to both parties.

The Incumbent is under a great disadvantage, in any contract with the occupier, because the duration of his interest is subject to the greatest uncertainty, and on this account chiefly the Tithe is a check to improvement. If a law were passed to enable the Incumbent of a living to let for a reasonable term his interest in the produce of the land to the occupier, the Tithe would be as easily settled, and as lightly felt as the rent. From the obvious convenience of these bargains, they would speedily become general, and no cause of dispute would remain between the occupier and the Incumbent. The term of the lease should be of such extent as to admit a plan of improvement of the land, for which, according to the opinion of surveyors, eleven years would, in most cases, be sufficient, and this would remove the popular objection, that Tithe is a check to improvement. The parties might safely be trusted to make their own bargains under one restriction only, that, if anything but rent entered into the consideration, the bargain should be totally void, and the lease should not be assignable but as annexed to the land. Some bargains disadvantageous to the living might at first be made, but, in time, they would find their just level, and at any rate the successor must stand in a better condition than he now does; for he would come into the possession of a certain income with a prospect of increase, instead of finding the parish in a state of alarm and most commonly in a combination against him to keep down the value of the living.

In this country, the first bargain would certainly be made with the occupier of the land. In Ireland, they would be more frequently made with the landlord, and the first effect of this regulation would be to set aside the intervention of the Tithe Proctor, which would be a very great benefit; or, if he were still to remain, he would act as the agent of the landowner, and not of the Incumbent, which would diminish the dislike to the payment as an ecclesiastical duty, because it would be sunk in the rent. Another advantage would also arise from it—the lessening the desire of keeping land in grass beyond the due balance between pasture and arable, which a good course of husbandry requires, and a closer connection would also be formed by it between the Clergy and the landed interest. If, besides this, there could also be formed a provision that should oblige the landlord to exempt the small parcels of land let to labourers from Tithe, and to stand himself responsible for that charge, there would remain very little difference as to Tithe between the state of Ireland and that of England, and no just ground of complaint in either country.

PLAN RESPECTING TITHES PROPOSED BY ROBERT G. HOGAN.

5, Duke Street, Westminster.

The annual amount of the Tithes of Ireland is, by deduction from the consumption and rates, estimated at £450,000. The population of the kingdom is at least 5,000,000. An average of five persons to each acre tilled overrates its ability of support. The produce exceeds the consumption of Ireland; there are, therefore, more than one million of acres tilled; and, including meadow grounds, at the lowest 1,500,000 subject to the charge for Tithes. The average rate for an acre of potatoes is ten shillings, wheat eight, barley six, oats five, and meadow four, which yield a general average of above six shillings per acre, and an aggregate of £450,000. Of this sum, above one third is levied off the lands necessarily cultivated for support of the labouring poor, aggravated by the illegal extortion of fees by proctors and the agents of Tithe farmers; a severity the more indefensible, as proctors are uniformly allowed 10 per cent. by their employers, and the profits of Tithe farmers are notoriously 20 per cent. over this allowance to proctors.

On the appropriation of Tithes to the support of the Church, before commerce or manufactures became sources of natural wealth, the products of the soil constituted the staple property of the State; and the assignment of any proportion of this property, without exception, as a provision for the clergy, proves that the Establishment was designed originally to bear equally on all the products of the land; that is, on all the property of the kingdom. That Tithes are anywhere an equal charge on property is absurd to say; that they are, in Ireland, an equal charge on the produce of the soil, would be alike preposterous to assert. The restriction of Tithes to the soil limits their operation to a single branch of property; by being confined to the industrious processes of husbandry, they cease to be general on the products of the soil; and in rising, as the expense of labour employed in those advances, they abandon every principle of primitive institution, becoming a tax on industry, not on property—on labour, not on land. So that Tithes, which are no where a charge on property, but in every other instance affect the profits of land, in Ireland bear heavily and partially on labour and industry only. In all cases burdensome, in Ireland they are oppressive. But, how desirable soever the abolition of Tithes, it would be unjust to attempt it without making a fair and liberal compensation to the clergy of the Establishment and the possessors of impropriate parishes. Property is a thing sacred; it should never be approached but with the sanction of legal authority; and where the right is established on a possession of ages, there seem to be limits to the extent of even legal interference.

Three modes are submitted for mitigating the pressure of the Establishment, as well on the industrious processes of husbandry as on the subsistence of the working classes.

1. Abolition of Tithes of potatoes, and the substitution of a brute poll-tax.

2. Abolition of Tithes altogether, and an adequate compensation provided for the clergy and lay impropriators, by impositions of more general operation on property.

3. Commutation of Tithes for an acreable assessment of one shilling on all the improved, arable, pasture, meadow, and woodlands, of the kingdom, to be levied off the immediate occupants. The first would effectually relieve the poor; would promote the increase of tillage, by the encouragement it would afford to the culture of potatoes, and, embracing a wider range of property, would be less burdensome on the individual, but would still continue an inequality of pressure sufficient to retard the improvement and extension of agriculture.

The second would have the same merit of exonerating the labouring classes; would, by extending to every species of property, seem most fair and conformable to original principles; would, no question, afford encouragement to agriculture; but, deficient in the efficacy of a compulsive operation, its encouragement would at best be negative, and, besides, the circumstances of the nation render this mode impracticable.

The third unites all the beneficial properties of the others, with many peculiar advantages, and, on examination, appears to contain every essential requisite to a fair, liberal, and adequate compensation. It would be light in operation, but productive in effect. It would be a relief to the poor, and an encouragement to agriculture. It would still draw the support of the Church from the soil, to which immemorial prescription had confined it, but it would draw it in a more equitable proportion. It would remove a monstrous burden from the industry of the husbandman and the shoulders of the peasantry, not to impose it on the manufacturers of stock, but to deal out a reasonable share of it to them: for, however interested persons may murmur, the profits of every acre, whether in tillage, pasture, woodland, or meadow, are nearly equal, and, if the value of an acre of tillage appears more abundant when its produce is manufactured for the market, it is because more labour has been expended on it, and the price of the labour enhances the value of the commodity.

But, besides providing fully and adequately for the clergy and proprietors of Tithes, this commutation would be productive of many serious and important national advantages. It would most effectually tend to promote agriculture; as, when compared with the charge it would supersede, its weight on tillage lands would scarce be sensible, and, bearing with most pressure on the extensive pasture grounds, it would oblige the occupiers, by resorting to tillage, to seek, in the profits of remitted Tithes, an indemnity for the operation of the substituted charge. It would also become the means of administering to the occasions of the State. The superficial contents of Ireland, by the most accurate computation, amount to 15,000,000 acres, of which, one-third being deducted for mountains, rivers, lakes, bog, and barren land, there would remain 10,000,000 acres liable to the commutation charge. At one shilling per acre, this charge would yield not only an equivalent to the present Tithe establishment, but also a surplus of £50,000 annually, and, together with some reasonable items of deduction from the aggregate value of Tithes, it would afford a profit to the Government of £110,000. Clergymen and lay impropriators allow their proctors 10 per cent., suffer considerably by the irresponsibility of some debtors, and do not receive their incomes until after the expiration of one year. A deduction, therefore, from the aggregate of 10 per cent., their expence to proctors of 5 per cent. for bad debts, and of 5 per cent. for prompt payment (the composition issuing quarterly from the Treasury), would not be unreasonable. These deductions, with the £50,000 surplus, amount to £140,000, and, rating the expence of collection at 6 per cent. to the servants of the Crown, make the actual annual acquisition £110,000.

III. NUMBER OF THE PRISONERS

TRIED UNDER THE INSURRECTION AND REBELLION ACTS, WITH THEIR SENTENCES,

Between November 10, 1800, and February 24, 1801.

The First Class contains a list of those whose sentence has been Death by the Court who tried them, amounting to 34 Prisoners, of which 21 have suffered death, 10 had their sentences mitigated by his Excellency to transportation or general service, 3 had their sentences disapproved, or have been pardoned. — 34 Total condemned to suffer death.	The Second Class contains a list of such persons as have been sentenced to Corporal Punishment, Acquitted, Fined, or Imprisoned, amounting to 14 Prisoners, of which 10 have been transported for life, 2 for seven years (or acquitted on security), 2 to serve his Majesty abroad for life. — 14 sentenced to transportation, or general service.	The Third Class contains a list of such prisoners as have been sentenced to Corporal Punishment, Acquitted, Fined, or Imprisoned, amounting to 15, of which 9 have been imprisoned, and to find security, 6 acquitted by the Court before whom tried, — 15 Third Class. 34 First Class. 14 Second Class. — 63 Grand Total.

1802.

The comparatively short Correspondence presented by this year calls for no special remark, unless I make an exception in favour of a long Letter from Lord Castlereagh, dated from Down, the 21st of July, to Mr. Addington, respecting the policy of making a Government provision for the clergy of the two great bodies of Irish Separatists—Catholics and Presbyterians; and of a Paper in the Supplement, from the pen of Mr. Knox, on the situation of the latter. This relaxation in writing on Irish affairs may be attributed partly to the definitive peace signed with France in the month of April, and partly to the appointment of Lord Castlereagh, on the 6th of July, to the arduous and important duties of the Presidency of the Board of Control.

Neither does the state of the country generally, during this period, offer any circumstances requiring distinct notice. It may, however, be proper to mention that, in February, Mitford, Speaker of the House of Commons, was created Baron Redesdale, and was appointed Chancellor of Ireland, on the death of the Earl of Clare. Mr. Abbott, Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. Wickham was appointed to succeed Mr. Abbott in his Irish situation.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

Dawson Street, February 5, 1802.

My dear Lord—I have wished for a long time to trouble you with a letter, but this winter has been so severe upon my deranged nerves, that it has unfitted me for even my usual employments. I verily believe I have accomplished at length what I have attempted more than a dozen times, and as often relinquished it, from a weighed-down mind and spirits. But I trust I may say there was no intermission of affection and respect, or of the sincerest interest in everything which concerned your health and happiness.

I trouble you with the enclosed, on a supposition of your meditating a motion in Parliament relative to the Irish Presbyterians. If such be your Lordship's intention, you will oblige me by casting your eye on what I send you. I am aware that you know the chief facts which I bring forward, and I am assured you are fit to reason on them much more strongly than I could hope to do. This is no flattery—I know my own powers, and I know something of your Lordship's, and I know that, in practical reasoning, I am but a pigmy compared to you: yet still I think it possible there may be some not useless remarks that may not yet have presented themselves, and to contribute one thought which you would deem worthy of a place in your memory would compensate me for greater labour than the present.

The argument I urge would, to be sure, have little force (whatever it ought to have), if it were not strengthened by the more potent consideration of *expediency;* but, in my mind, though expediency may be a strong motive, it is a bad argument. It implies weakness in the power which concedes, and it holds out a premium for insubordination. But it is to the honour of a Governor to yield to *justice;* and for this reason, I think, whenever any indulgence is intended, whatever may dispose to it, some principle of equity ought always to be sought, on which to ground it, and by which also to limit the grant; and I conceive that, where such a principle is really needed, it will be found; inasmuch as there can be no real expediency which has not grown out of some principle of right. If there be no right in the case, it would be difficult to prove it expedient, at least, *in the long run*.

To prove a principle of right, then, in the hope of the Irish Presbyterians, is my chief endeavour; and, if my reasoning has any force, it will follow, that their gratification cannot furnish just ground for any other sect, either in Ireland or Great Britain, to entertain a like expectation; and it also affords a *limit* to the hopes of those whom it gratifies, inasmuch as they cannot expect to be placed in better circumstances than their brethren are placed in in the parent Church; and yet, after the intended addition, between stipend and Royal Bounty, they will be better off than the majority of the Scotch Ministers: at least, it appears so to me, according to my present knowledge of the matter.

It will also follow that, what was strangely enough done in the year '92, with respect to the *Seceders*, ought not now to be repeated. It would be inhuman to take from them what they have got; but it would be extreme folly to admit them to any new benefit. The introducing of them at all is a striking specimen of the vagueness of mere expediency. There was no distinctive principle, and, of course, when some members chose to support them, there was no producible reason why they should not be gratified as well as the others. By the same rule, if Covenanters, Moravians, or Methodists, or all three, had happened to have particular friends, they, too, must have come in for their share. The reason would have been equally good, for the Seceders are as new a body as the Methodists. On such grounds, therefore, there could be no end to claims.

The truth is, I conceive, that no dissenters, as such, have any kind of claim, except to liberty of conscience. The State supports a religion, the character of which ought evidently to be—indeed, *must be*—that which the property of the country adheres to; because it is from property that the Church Establishment derives its support. If, then, any persons choose a private religion, they ought to have liberty to do as they please, but they have no right to look further. If an individual requires a road for his distinct accommodation, can he ask more than to have leave to make it? He surely could not hope to charge it on the public. But the case of religious dissent implies more. To burden the public for its support would be not only unfair to the public, but it would be encouraging dissent by *bounties*. Of course, it would imply injustice to the Established Religion. If Seceders, then, choose to dissent from the Presbyterian communion, let them do it. But what is that to the State? Every new Sect might prefer a like claim, which would certainly make such attempts rather too hopeful for the well-being of the National Church.

I hope your Lordship will pardon the whole of this liberty. Where you are to be an actor, *I* cannot be an uninterested spectator, and your kind reception of all my attempts hitherto induces me to give you my thoughts without reserve. Of Presbyterianism abstractedly I am no admirer, my connexions and prejudices being Episcopal, and my tie to the Establishment from birth and education being most strongly confirmed by reason and conviction. But Presbyterianism, like everything else, may be transmuted by circumstances. It has, of course, been most loyal in Scotland, while, in England and Ireland, it has been remarkably otherwise. Considering, then, the magnitude and importance of Irish Presbyterianism, it is a happy thing that there are *just claims* which may be acceded to without implying undue acquiescence, or affording dangerous example. My kindest regards always wait on Lady C., and I trust both she and your Lordship will ever consider me as your sincerely affectionate and most grateful servant,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

February 23, 1802.

My dear Lord—With great pleasure indeed I received your kind letter yesterday, not, I may truly say, because it contained so gratifying an approbation of my thoughts (though that I highly value), as because, from its whole appearance and manner, it seemed to demonstrate your being in good health, a matter about which I wished to be satisfied, for some *friends* of yours here sometimes amuse themselves with reports of your not being well, and about the time of Sir John Parnell's death they had disposed of your Lordship outright. At present, however, I think they will leave you to yourself, for Dublin is too full of human beings to leave room for Rumour. I hoped, when the Parliament was gone, that we should have had a quiet residence here; but it is so much the reverse, that the Lords and Commons, now in England, seem scarcely to be missed; nor is there any difference, except in our freedom from the roll of carriages at the hour of the House breaking up. For my own pleasure, I should have preferred another state of things, yet I cannot but listen with some satisfaction to noises which contradict the only objection which I thought it possible might be founded in *fact*—though even then not of very great weight.

You will not wonder at my merely submitting to the noise, instead of feeling pleasure from the concourse, when I tell your Lordship that I have dined out but twice these three months. I found going into company affect my nerves so much as to make me always worse afterward. But I like living at home sufficiently not to feel irksomeness, and I have abundance of visitors. When the weather permits, I ride on horseback, and endeavour to bear many troublesome effects of bad nerves as well as I can. But let me add one word. If I can bear my state of health with tranquillity, you, my Lord, are the chief *earthly* cause. This I tell you not flatteringly—*you* would not be flattered, and I would flatter no man. But you ought to know (that you may feel one of the best pleasures of a good mind) that you have been the instrument of Providence to give to one person at least *substantial comfort*, as far as this world can furnish. I have a pretty little property, but it came to me so burdened, and I was so more and more embarrassed that I might shudder to think what my state by this time would have been, were it not that the danger is over. I could not but say thus much, and shall probably not teaze you again on such a subject.

The correspondence between my friend Black and me has been of such a kind as to lead me to communicate *verbatim* to him the latter part of your Lordship's letter. I think you will not disapprove of this, as nothing could be better fitted for the purpose of satisfying him as to the state of the case and your feelings and exertions respecting it. But I expect a very painful answer; for Black has certainly had too high-raised views, as of a business not *sub judice*, but *settled*; and his exceeding cruel and ungrateful treatment from the Synod, with rather declining health, has, I fear, rather lessened his equanimity. He vexes me by his letters, they discover so much ulceration in a mind of so peculiarly sound and almost noble a cast originally; and I do not know how to reply to him without making bad worse. This day, to comfort him, I told him, what certainly I think, that you never talk sanguinely of anything; that you are too attentive to fact and *rational* deduction to make poetic anticipations; and that, when I used to triumph in the repeated defeats of the Rebels in the year '98, your Lordship's reply was, "We must not cry halloo before we are out of the wood." Another of my consolatory topics was the necessity arising out of the state of the Continent and the growing empire of Buonaparte, (which Ministers could not but feel) of ensuring the co-operation of all parties, by doing justice to all. I hope they will justify my anticipation of their prudence, for, if another war commences, and nothing done to engage either Irish Presbyterians or Irish Catholics, I fear they would too late find their omission had let a new millstone be hung about the neck of the Empire.

I am really much obliged to your Lordship for giving me so much of your thoughts, in which I need not tell you I peculiarly concur. They who think otherwise are strangely infatuated. You must have observed that I did not intermingle the Catholic business with that of the Presbyterians. It was not that I did not equally feel its importance, but because, from a conversation with Marsden, I did conceive that the one was to be brought on, but that nothing was said about the other. I wished, therefore, for despatch sake, to handle one topic at once.

What your Lordship says of leaving it to the Minister to bring forward is so self-evidently wise that I never could have dreamed of *your* moving it, but on a full understanding with him. And I certainly should have thought it no more extraordinary that you should be the mover in that way now than that Mr. Stewart, of Killimoon, was the mover for the increase in 1792. But you, I know, would think little of that, or any such matter; light minds only are pleased with feathers.

In addition to what your Lordship observes respecting the claims of the Roman Catholic Clergy, it strikes me that there is a peculiar justice in their cause, which perhaps might be too delicate in its nature to be made a ground, but surely ought to be felt as a motive. My idea is this:

The English owe their original possession of Ireland to conquest; but time and events have, with respect to *individuals*, wrought that possession into as complete right of proprietorship as exists in the world. It must, however, be allowed, on every ground of justice and humanity, that the vanquished have their rights, and the victors, of course, their duties. These, to be sure, are generally most apparent, when substantiated by *compact;* but where there is no compact, still there is the great law of humanity requiring *that* to be done which Reason says *should be done* for the vanquished, as being now objects of pity, and to be done *by the victors*, as having now all the sources of relief. Nor can mere time annihilate such rights, if it does not change circumstances. It has completely changed them in Ireland, in all civil respects, but there is perhaps an unexampled continuance of circumstances in the case of the vanquished *Church.* In a manner, perhaps not to be paralleled in any other instance, the moral person of the ancient Church of Ireland presents itself before us this day, with as much identity as any Corporation can do; showing us at once the marks of its pristine grandeur and of our triumph over it. Our identity as victors is also self-evident: we possess all the funds from which the ancient Church derived its emoluments and its magnificence. Thus respectively placed—*it* before *us*, as substantially existent and as miserably destitute as if we had dismantled it but yesterday; and we no otherwise changed from that period, except in greater ability to be merciful. I ask, is there, in such a case, no moral claim on the one hand, no duty on the other?

The House of Hanover pensioned the House of Stuart. The efforts of the latter to recover their lost power were necessarily to be resisted; but it would have been dishonourable and unjust to have left unaided such interesting remains of Royalty. Is not the case of the present Roman Catholic Church of Ireland precisely the same on the one hand, and the present Protestant Establishment, political and ecclesiastical, to all intents the same on the other?

When Canada was conquered, its Church Establishment was kept unaltered. It was, no doubt, felt that such a concession on the part of the victors was *right*, as well as expedient. The different circumstances of Ireland warranted and demanded a different conduct: there was a universal transfer of property (in effect), and it was inevitable that the Church Establishment should reside with the wealth, not the poverty, of the country. But does the spirit of the Canadian settlement in no degree apply? Is it *right* that the Roman Catholic Church in

Ireland should remain unaided, while it has been deemed a matter of *just* agreement between us and the conquered Canadians that theirs should be established?

I do not say all this would answer much end, but I thought the communication would not displease you.

I shall now trouble your Lordship with but one point more, which, I own, my feeling for a near connexion led me first to think of, but which a view to justice leads me to mention to you.

If it was just to secure half-pay to such Militia subalterns as had served a certain time, will it not be grossly unjust to let captains equally poor return home, after such a service, to poverty and wretchedness? Since, then, the exigence of the country required that, for the sake of efficiency, Captains without property should be employed, is not the reason for giving half-pay precisely the same as in the case of those who are now to have it? I humbly think, therefore, a Bill should be passed, either acknowledging what had been done, indemnifying for it, and putting such on permanent half-pay, or simply that all such Irish Militia Captains as should prove themselves by affidavit not possessed of more than the qualification, should have that benefit.

I hope I shall not have teazed you by the length of this letter; but, as you have now time to breathe, I have not the same scruple as formerly.

Mr. Hawkins Browne, in a letter received this morning, speaks kindly of your Lordship. His respect for you is great, and he is a most worthy gentleman.

Yours, &c.,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Addington.

Private. Down, July 21, 1802.

My dear Sir—I have to acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 11th from Kensington, and feel excessively grateful for your kind intentions towards our Union friends; indeed, I am truly sensible of the cordiality and zeal with which you have fulfilled not only every engagement, but even every fair expectation which the supporters of that measure were entitled to entertain; and it is, as you may suppose, a very great satisfaction to my mind to see every assurance we found it necessary to give for its accomplishment so honourably fulfilled: in which work it is impossible not to feel that Lord Hardwicke has most faithfully acted up to your intentions and instructions.

I take the liberty of enclosing a private letter from Dr. Black, relative to the proceedings of the Synod, the details of which have not yet reached me; but the enclosed hasty sketch will show you how much there is in the body which requires amendment, and how much may be done by an efficient protection and support given on the part of Government to those who have committed themselves in support of the State against a democratic party in the Synod, several of whom, if not engaged in the Rebellion, were deeply infected with its principles. In our Church, which is naturally attached to the State, I should dread schism as weakening its interests; but, in such a body as the Presbyterians of Ireland, who, though consequently a branch of the Church of Scotland, have partaken so deeply first of the popular and since of the democratic politics of the country as to be an object much more of jealousy than of support to Government, I am of opinion that it is only through a considerable internal fermentation of the body, coupled with some change of system, that it will put on a different temper, and acquire better habits. Already those who have been induced to concur with the views of Government have, from the mere act of opposing the popular party, improved their own principles by becoming, throughout the whole scale of their opinions, in a great degree, the counterpart of their opponents; and I am persuaded that the strength of this party will rapidly increase, if they are uniformly made to feel, as on the late occasion, that Government will not abandon them to their adversaries.

You will naturally infer, from what I have stated, that my opinion still continues strongly in favour of coupling regulation with the proposed increase of the Regium Donum. It certainly does, under a strong conviction that an opposite decision would surrender the authority of the body very much into the hands of its worst members, by accomplishing the whole of what they have from the first contended for. The distribution and government of the fund is a natural engine of authority. It has hitherto been exclusively in the Synod. To render it still more subservient to democracy, an attempt has lately been made (but seasonably checked by Lord Hardwicke) to introduce the authority of the Lay Elders into its management. This will prevent further mischief; but nothing short of its being placed on a wholly new footing can implant in the body a principle of amelioration. The principles upon which such a change may be founded are few and simple.

1. Let it be an annual grant from the State to the individuals by name, and not from the body to its members. This cannot be considered as at all interfering with the government or discipline of their Church, if the patronage of their congregations, as at present, remains in the people, and provided also the body may, for misconduct or any other cause, order their agent, who may still be made the medium of its payment to the respective ministers, to withhold the allowance from any individual clergyman they think fit, the agent to be accountable with Government for sums so withheld.

2. That upon the appointment of a Minister to a parish, proper certificates of his character, &c., should be transmitted by the Presbytery (usually consisting of from twelve to fifteen ministers) of which he is a member, to be laid before the Lord-Lieutenant, praying that his Majesty's accustomed bounty may be granted to him.

3. If the certificates appear to his Excellency satisfactory,

that he should submit the name of the person so recommended to his Majesty for the usual grant, which should be issued from henceforward, as of course, to the individual, so long as he remained in that particular congregation, unless superseded for ecclesiastical reasons by an act of the Synod itself.

The whole of the above merely requires that, after a Presbyterian congregation has chosen a Minister, he should not be entitled, *as of right*, to derive a provision from the State, without furnishing Government with satisfactory testimonials from his own body of his being a loyal subject. Now, though many bad men might find their way into the body, notwithstanding such precautions, yet, beyond a doubt, the impression that character was requisite to advancement, and that Government, in its discretion, *might* withhold the provision, though the certificate should be obtained, would in time have a material influence on their conduct. This, together with the income itself, making them less dependent on their congregations for subsistence, are the only means which suggest themselves to my mind for making this important class of Dissenters better subjects than they have of late years proved themselves.

The same general reasoning naturally applies to the other more numerous body of Separatists; I mean, the Catholics, with this exception, that I believe much less difficulty would be found in reconciling them to any arrangement calculated to give the State authority, which Government should think proper to require. Having a hierarchy of their own, they are less alive upon the principle of subordination than the Presbyterians, whose Church is republican in all its forms, and too much so in many of its sentiments.

Since I last had the pleasure of conversing with you on this particular measure, I have endeavoured to find out what the temper and wishes of the Catholic clergy and laity are upon the subject. As I have felt it my duty by you not to seek my information in a manner which should rouse the body to any measure, my inquiries have not been sufficiently extensive to enable me to judge of the sentiments of the body at large, or to answer for more than the opinions of the individuals whose names I shall mention, and I am obliged to state even their opinions with the more caution, as I did not think myself authorized to apply to them directly, and, therefore, am only in possession of the opinions which they have recently expressed to those whom I have confidentially employed to sound them.

I mentioned to you that Dr. Moylan, whom I look upon as one of the most discreet and respectable of the body, had expressed to Lord Cornwallis, in London, a conviction that the Roman Catholic Clergy would, under the present circumstances, gratefully accept a provision from the State. I have since had reason to know that Dr. Troy, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, holds the same language. I am inclined to infer that these two persons speak the sentiments of the body of their Clergy. Lord Fingall, lately to a friend of mine, expressed similar opinions, and wishes, on his own part, that the measure was taken up. In the Catholic as in the Presbyterian body, in proportion as the laity are democratic and disaffected, they are impatient of their Clergy receiving favours from Government, particularly when coupled with any regulations which seem to connect them in any degree with the State hereafter; and possibly something of the same spirit may show itself in the Catholic as that which has taken place in the Presbyterian body, though less I apprehend in degree, the latter being naturally more jealous of interference than the former, as I have before observed. If, however, the Catholics of rank and property, of whom my Lord Fingall is among the most distinguished, should countenance their Clergy in accepting of such a provision, the feelings of a different description of persons should not, in my judgment, if other difficulties were surmounted, discourage the attempt, and certainly need not call the policy of the measure in question: indeed, in proportion as their acquiescence was upon any occasion cordial and evident, I should be proportionably disposed to suspect the ground upon which we were proceeding; and this consideration weighs strongly in my mind against the measure of naked concession to either body; for, though at first it may seem to give most satisfaction, I am persuaded that, like all the indulgences that have hitherto taken place, no advantage, but rather the reverse, will result from it.

Although I am disposed to be of opinion, from more general information as well as the above particulars, that the well-disposed Catholics, both Clergy and laity, are sincerely desirous that this measure should be accomplished, and would solicit it in the most earnest manner from Government, if they had reason to know that their wishes would be gratified, yet, as things now stand, I do not conceive that it could be either expected or indeed desired that they should make the application. To risk it ineffectually would only involve them with Government, perhaps with a proportion of their own body; but this principle of caution on their part cannot be considered as any proof that they are not as anxious for it as the Presbyterian Clergy, though obliged to have a greater reserve in expressing those feelings. Neither does it prove that they do not *feel* that their claims, in point of engagement, are as strong as those of the Dissenters. It appears, therefore, my dear Sir, an essential preliminary to ascertain the practicability of executing this measure, before one can venture to enter into any explanations with the body, and that the measure cannot be proposed to Parliament in favour of the Presbyterians, passing by the Catholics in total silence, after what has passed between the late Government and that body seemed to impress itself on your mind with the same force it does on mine. I should, therefore, submit to you the importance of coming to a final decision on this subject with as little delay as possible, in order that the real obstacle, if it should unfortunately exist in a certain quarter, may be ascertained, so as to leave time, before Parliament meets, to make the best provision against the embarrassments connected with it, which circumstances will permit. I trust, however, that is an event as improbable as I think it would be injurious to the best interests of the Crown in this country.

Having stated so much on these subjects, I am sorry to see, in the public temper of the country, strong additional motives for endeavouring to secure for Government additional principles of authority and connexion over the higher classes, and particularly the Clergy of the two principal sects. Nothing but time and the operation of a steady and impartial administration of the Government, such as it is your determination, and not less that of my Lord Hardwicke, to employ, connected with such an influence as I allude to, can mitigate the religious animosities that unhappily prevail in this country, which, I am sorry to say, exist at present in a very strong degree, and have recently manifested themselves, both in the counties of Derry and Down, in an unpleasant manner. In the former, a riot took place between the Orangemen and the Catholics, in which several of the latter, though supposed to have been the aggressors, lost their lives. A riot between the same parties took place near this town on the 27th of last month, at a well where the Catholics assemble at Midsummer to perform their penances, which terminated in two Catholics being killed, and several wounded. In this instance, I fear the Protestants very much misconducted themselves.

On this occasion, Lord Londonderry assembled the magistrates; and the determination which has been shown to put the law rigidly in force against all parties, without favour to any, will prevent further mischief, and give the proper impression to the minds of both; but still, to soften religious contention in this country, and to bring it gradually to a temper which shall, in future wars, deprive our foreign enemies of a certain ally in the resentful feelings of one of two contending parties, some effort must be made by the State to mitigate the struggle, which I see no means it has of accomplishing, if seven-eighths of our population are to remain wholly out of the reach of any species of influence or authority other than that of the mere operation of the law.

I have now troubled you at so much length as to induce me to postpone some other points. I shall only express, with reference to Mr. Broderick, whose letter I return, my satisfaction that, if a change in the Secretaryship of the Board of Control is thought expedient, it is likely to be accomplished without any awkwardness by him. Mr. Huskisson's talents are such as to lead me as far as I have the pleasure of knowing him, to be convinced that the important duties connected with it could not be placed in more efficient hands.

My election is fixed for Saturday next, and I have every reason to expect that I shall be returned quietly, although we have our Mr. Graham[1] in this county, who talks after dinner of offering himself; but, as every individual of any importance has declared in favour of my colleague and myself, the issue cannot be doubtful. Believe me to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Castlereagh, to the Right Hon. William Wickham.

East Sheen, September 12, 1802.

I conclude it is the bounty which is now payable on corn that has attracted your attention to the subject. I should have been glad to have got rid of all bounty as between the two countries, and all restriction *against import*, last session. You know I was also very desirous of extending the *export scale* very considerably above what you fixed it at; but I remain, as I was then, firmly persuaded that Ireland cannot, in her present state, in years of famine, bear an open trade, and it is better for the Government to retain some limit on the Statute Book with respect to export, taking care that it shall be so high as to have no effect even in seasons moderately bad, than to risk the question of subsistence in a period of extreme scarcity, in a country which has low wages and no Poor laws. Government may prohibit distillation and even malting in such a season; because the general feeling is easily reconciled to any measure of restriction as applied to spirits; but rely upon it that, if you part with statutable prohibition against export of grain in extreme cases, the feelings of this part of the United Kingdom will never endure a proclamation from the Government of Ireland depriving them of corn at the moment they want it most, if the principle of an open trade is once recognised; and of this fact I entertain an entire conviction, that, had the Irish ports been open for export in the last two years of scarcity, your people in many parts of Ireland must have either starved or plundered.

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[1] In allusion to Graham, an auctioneer, who came forward at the general election in 1802, as a candidate for the representation of Westminster.

If you take the scale high enough, the question then turns on the possible interposition of the restriction once, perhaps, in fifteen or twenty years, in seasons of extreme scarcity. Is this any thing for the landed interest to contend against? If they will not, even in such cases, make some sacrifice, do they not countenance a strong claim to be called upon to make provision in some other way for the wants of the people? To say that such a restriction is a check upon agriculture is to suppose that the growth of corn is governed by the events of one season out of perhaps twenty; but, even in that season, the regulation itself secures extravagant prices to the grower. My opinion decidedly is that to repeal all regulation is to sacrifice a substantial measure of policy, important to the internal tranquillity of the country, and peculiarly important to the Government, responsible at all times to the feelings of the people, and peculiarly so in seasons of calamity; for what affects their interests, to a mere name, which a few country gentlemen and corn-dealers may be clamorous for, without considering that the extension of the import price considerably beyond its present rate is practically every thing that, upon the most selfish view of their own interest, they can have any motive to contend for; and to Great Britain the quantity of grain which would make the whole difference to Ireland of a degree of scarcity to be endured or positive famine would not afford a breakfast to the population of London. This is not a question to be decided by general feeling. It is one for the Government itself to determine upon the practical consideration of what they are of opinion a year of famine would be in Ireland without such a law. Marsden can tell you what it was with it in full operation, and the prices on the other side of the Channel at the time will tell you what it would have been without it. Consider well, if you pass such a law, whether you could venture, by a proclamation, under any circumstances, to repeal it as against England; and, if not, I feel confident that you will hesitate before you either make yourself responsible for subsisting Ireland without it, in a season of extreme scarcity, or bequeath that task to any future Government. I have troubled you more at length on this subject than I intended.

Believe me, &c., CASTLEREAGH.

The Right Hon. Charles Yorke to Lord Castlereagh.

Confidential. Charles Street, September 17, 1802.

My dear Lord—I will take care to return the papers you have done me the honour to communicate, on Wednesday, and will call on you in my way to St. James's, whither I will with pleasure accompany you.

I take this opportunity of sending you the papers which I mentioned the other day had been sent to Lord Hobart and Lord Dartmouth from the War Office, some time ago, relating to the service of his Majesty's troops in India. Upon looking at them, I perceive that they do not bear upon the main question of *numbers*, as I had imagined. I then entertained, however, as I do now, a strong opinion upon that subject.

In our last communication, I presume you were apprized in general of my feelings on the subject of the proposed *mission.*[1]

[1] To India, as Governor-General.

I hope you then understood that, even should my propositions be deemed reasonable and acceptable, I intended to reserve to myself the right of further reflecting upon so momentous a change as that which has been offered to me, before I could possibly undertake to submit to it. I can with truth affirm that your Lordship's having been placed at the head of the department[1] has a principal share in inducing me to lend myself to the consideration at all.

I am, &c.

C. YORKE.[2]

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.[3]

Most Secret. East Sheen, November 5, 1802.

My dear Sir—As, in the present state of things, it may become necessary for the security of Ireland to raise a Militia without loss of time, I venture to trouble you with a few observations on the subject, to which you and the Lord-Lieutenant will attach no other importance than what they may appear to your better judgment on the spot to merit.

If we are to have war, in the present state of our army, Ireland must be weak and exposed till she has an efficient Militia. Under such circumstances, that mode which will raise a force most speedily has, in that point of view alone, great advantages. You will perceive that the leaning of my opinion is in favour of recruiting it, as in the last war, rather than to endeavour to raise it by ballot; and, as any attempt to procure the funds from the counties must protract the operations till the next assizes, and even longer before it could be collected, it is a necessary feature of my proposition that the money should be advanced by Government, to be repaid by the counties.

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[1] The Board of Control.

[2] Mr. Yorke was brother of Lord Hardwicke, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

[3] Mr. Wickham had gone to Ireland as Chief Secretary to Lord Hardwicke.

Another consideration, exclusive of the time that would be lost in putting the law, step by step, in force is, that it is calculated to excite more feeling in the country than it is perhaps wise to encourage at a moment of weakness, and will not, I am persuaded, be generally successful in all the counties.

A third reason which induces me to consider the system of enlisting (though certainly objectionable on general Militia principles) under present circumstances, to be most applicable to our situation is, that you wish to raise the Militia so as to interfere as little as possible with the general recruiting of your army. You must let the Militia into a competition with the line in a certain degree, else you will have no Militia at all. The object then is, to take care that the inducements should be so dissimilar for entering into one or the other, and so much in favour of the line, as to determine all those who are not decidedly averse to general service to take the larger bounty, and enter into the Regulars. If you raise the Militia by bounty, the regulation of this point is altogether within your reach. If you ballot, the man on whom the lot falls must find a substitute; (you may rely upon it, not one man in a hundred will serve in person) he must find him by a given day; a competition between the different persons liable is produced, and the price of substitutes raised in a manner much more prejudicial to the general recruiting service than raising the number of men required at a fixed bounty, which need not exceed two, or, at most, three guineas, while it is proposed, as I understand, to carry the bounty for the Line as high as ten or twelve guineas.

I own I tremble very much for Ireland during the next winter, if hostilities recommence; and, knowing how little further regular force can be appropriated to her defence, under present circumstances I feel a proportionable anxiety that her local strength should be called forth upon the principle which will render it most speedily effective—17,000 men for Ireland, cavalry included, is scarcely a police. Under such circumstances, I do not think we can afford to look at the subject upon any other than a military principle; and in this view alone I have endeavoured to present it for consideration.

Believe me, &c., CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Pelham to Lord Hardwicke.

Private. Whitehall, November 11, 1802.

My dear Lord—I have received your Excellency's private letter and public despatch, respecting the advancements in the Peerage; they are put in the official course.

I am desired by his Majesty's confidential servants to state to your Excellency their earnest wish that the Militia of Ireland should be set on foot with as little delay as possible, leaving it to your Excellency's discretion to proceed by ballot, or by such other means, according to the provisions of the different Militia Acts, as the time and state of the country may render most expedient.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PELHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential. Phœnix Park, Sunday, Nov. 14, 1802.

My dear Lord—I have already acknowledged the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 5th inst., marked *most secret*, on the subject of the Militia. Yesterday, I received yours of the 10th, marked *private*, on the same subject. I need not say that I am to the full as anxious as your Lordship can be, that the recruiting system, by provisional issues to the colonels from the Treasury, should be adopted, without a moment's delay, and equally well persuaded that the raising the Militia by ballot would be found impracticable upon trial. I am, nevertheless, on the most mature consideration, and after a long and full discussion with the Chancellor, the Attorney-General, Marsden, and Littlehales, as well as with the Lord-Lieutenant himself, most clearly of opinion that, under the existing laws, the Lord-Lieutenant cannot authorize the colonels to recruit in that manner, and that we ought not to do so *against law*, without being at liberty to assign the existence of some emergency of sufficient strength and importance to warrant so extraordinary a proceeding.

First, as to the point of law—the only extraordinary powers that this Government now possesses for raising militiamen (even when the regiments are actually embodied, and out of their own counties,) are those given by the 37 Geo. III.. c. 19, s. 28, and the 38 of Geo. III., c. 62, s. 1, 2 and 3, by which fines may be laid on the counties and parishes, and applied by the colonels to the raising of men in all cases where the requisite number of men has not been furnished by ballot, by substitutes, or by parish volunteers. But this extraordinary power can only be resorted to after the three regular modes of raising men here mentioned shall all have failed, and in no case until a month's notice shall have been given to the clerk of the general meetings of the deficiency, to supply which it is the intention of the colonel to raise men by the mode of recruiting.

The other extraordinary powers given by the late acts of the Irish Parliament, in the opinion of the Lord Chancellor and of the Attorney-General, in which I entirely concur, are all expired with the war.

Then comes the question of emergency, in examining which there seem to me to be three points to be considered by the Lord-Lieutenant.

First, Whether he is yet authorized to say that anything of the kind exists.

Secondly, Whether, without such direct authority, it would be right or expedient for him to say that there did exist an emergency on the information which he himself possesses of the present state of things.

Thirdly, Whether any practical good would arise to the object we have in view from his making any declaration, unless it were accompanied by stronger measures—such, I mean, as embodying and calling out the Militia at the same time.

As to the first point, the Lord-Lieutenant has no authority at all for saying or supposing that an emergency authorizing a proceeding contrary to law does now exist, other than what may be collected from your Lordship's letter. The last information received from Mr. Addington, of the 30th ult., puts us well on our guard, and directs provisional measures to be taken, and arrangements to be made, but adds, that no public proceeding would then be proper. It is true, as I can collect from your Lordship's letter, that affairs have since become still more urgent and serious; but Lord Pelham's communication, which your Lordship taught us to expect (the first that has been received from him on the subject of the new state of things,) not only does not state the existence of any extraordinary ground of alarm, but actually confines us to the operation of the existing laws, as you will collect from the enclosed copy of the letter itself.[1] I have, however, no difficulty in saying, notwithstanding the awkward nature of Lord Pelham's communication, that the Lord-Lieutenant would readily take the necessary responsibility upon himself, and act at once on the authority of your Lordship's letter alone, if he could satisfy himself that it would be prudent to give such an alarm as (with or without any reason assigned for it,) the measure in question must necessarily occasion; or that any practical good could arise from the measure itself, unaccompanied by an order for immediately embodying the Militia.

Now, on these points it seems to me that, without knowing much more than the Lord-Lieutenant really knows of the intentions of the enemy, or of the language which the Cabinet mean to hold on that subject, at the meeting of Parliament, it would be a rash act in his Excellency and me, that could not be justified or excused, were he to do anything that might so deeply commit the King's Government in England with the enemy, or with Parliament, as the official letter to the colonels, authorizing them to recruit in cases where the law does not permit them to do so, accompanied by an order to the Treasury to make issues equally unauthorized by law, must necessarily do; for it does not seem possible to me to write such a letter and such an order, without assigning *some* reason for the measure, or to assign any other reason than that of an emergency, remembering always that the measure itself (a circumstance which, perhaps, had not been sufficiently foreseen or adverted to,) is no longer legal; and in that point of view of the thing, it may also carry with it a charge of inconsistency in Government, as it must be admitted that the emergency is not of the most serious kind, or one that could not allow of your waiting for the meeting of Parliament, inasmuch as you don't think it necessary to embody your Militia in either country.

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[1] It precedes this letter of Mr. Wickham's, p. 235.

But, admitting this objection to be surmounted, still the measure appears to me to be full of practical difficulties, that grow upon me the more I consider the thing practically, with a view to carrying it into execution, and the more I consult those persons here whose opinion I am bound to take, and who have the most practical knowledge and experience of the whole subject. I will not enlarge on these difficulties, because most, if not all of them, will, I am sure, with all their consequences, have already occurred to your Lordship; I will only say that, when taken together, they appear to me of such a magnitude as to satisfy me that, in this as well as many other cases, the longest way about will be found the shortest way of home, and that we shall arrive not only more effectually but more expeditiously at our object, by so much of salutary delay as will give you time either to authorize us to call out the Militia, if the circumstances of the moment would justify such a measure, in which case the recruiting would then become effectual, in some sort warranted by the emergency which rendered it expedient to call them out, or to direct a ballot; in which last case, in six weeks or two months from the date of the order, the colonels would be authorized to enlist on failure of the ballot, or (what would be better than all,) to obtain a Parliamentary sanction of the nature which I shall instantly explain to you, and to which alone I look for anything safe, useful, and effective.

I admit that, by a confidential communication with the colonels of one or two, or perhaps three regiments, the thing might be done in those regiments, to a certain extent; but, for all the rest, I am persuaded that the measure would produce nothing, or next to nothing, that could at all weigh in the scale, if your object be, what I must necessarily suppose it to be, a real and efficient armed force, ready to be called into action. This is my view of the subject, after having, as I said before, well and maturely considered it in all its points with the most earnest and anxious wish to carry the measure suggested by your Lordship into execution, and a thorough persuasion that all other modes of proceeding will be found ineffectual. I have only now to explain to you what the Lord-Lieutenant considers to be the best and most expeditious way of arriving at our end. I shall write immediately to three or four of the colonels to come and talk the subject over here—those, I mean, to whom the measure of enrolling without an efficient letter may be entrusted, if the thing be practicable at all. Among these I reckon Vesey, Lord Westmeath, Fitzgerald of Cork, Lord Erris, Lord Waterford, and your Lordship's Lieutenant-Colonel.

Secondly, I shall, as we may be advised on consultation tomorrow, either immediately or after communication with the above-mentioned colonels, on their arrival, write a confidential circular to all the colonels of Militia regiments now in the country, desiring their private opinion on the simple question—whether, in case of any emergency, the balloting system could be carried into execution with effect, or whether it would be right to apply to Parliament for a power to recruit; taking care to put the question so as that it may draw, if possible, a direct answer, and not leave it open to them to suggest any thing as to the extent of the power to be given, or the circumstances under which it ought to be applied. I believe the answer will be (with few, if any, exceptions,) that a power to recruit ought to be given; and we can then, if, necessary or advisable, make that answer the foundation of a claim to that effect in the new act.

Thirdly, If your Lordship and the Cabinet should have no objection to such a measure, you might give notice, the first day on which Parliament shall do business, that a right honourable friend of yours will, on an early day, move for leave to bring in a bill for explaining, amending, and altering the Militia laws of Ireland.

Fourthly, On Wednesday night, the Attorney-General, who really understands the subject, and who, at my desire, has very obligingly undertaken this business, will set out for London, with a draft of a bill ready prepared, which shall be so framed as to meet any circumstances that we can foresee here, and to give to the Lord-Lieutenant (what I hope Parliament will not refuse,) much larger powers than he possessed by the former acts—I mean, that he should have the full and unlimited power to determine and declare that the ballot cannot be carried into execution with effect in any particular county, and then to direct the colonel to recruit instantly at the charge of such county.

Fifthly, If, in the mean time, things should look more alarming, send us over official authority to call out the Militia. We will have everything prepared for such a measure, and we will then begin recruiting as a matter of course, until we shall receive a parliamentary sanction .... ; and we will then do many other things besides which we dare not do now, for fear of giving an alarm, the extent of which we could not calculate, much less say in what manner it might operate on the present state of things, and the present views of the Cabinet.

I shall wait with much impatience to hear that you have not disapproved what is here suggested and proposed to be done; and shall only now add that, as soon as your letter was received yesterday, the Lord-Lieutenant suspended the measures that had been taken for disbanding such of the Yeomanry corps as had been reported to be only ill-conditioned, and will only now dispense with the services of such among them as are suspected of disaffection; the rest we will do our best to reform and make more serviceable.

I remain ever, with the truest respect, &c.,

WM. WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Phœnix Park, Sunday, November 14, 1802.

My dear Lord—There are two points connected with the subject of the Militia, about which I have said nothing in my long letter of to-day, but which are not the least important among many of the same kind that we shall soon have to consider, and I shall therefore beg leave to call your attention to them.

First, What are we to do with the Field Officers and the additional Lieutenants, who were created when the establishment was increased by thirty men per company? To dismiss them would be unpleasant; to retain them on the establishment of 1795, highly objectionable; nor could we, I think, attempt to submit to the House of Commons a Staff of two Lieutenant-Colonels, and two Majors for each battalion in Ireland, whilst, in England, one only of each of those classes is allowed to a battalion of nearly the same strength. I should wish your Lordship to turn this point well in your mind before the Attorney-General's arrival.

Secondly, If the bounty for the line be not increased to eight or ten guineas, the recruiting for the Militia will certainly be found very detrimental to the regular service. Provisions and whiskey are now so cheap, and work of all kinds so easily procured at very advanced wages, that I am afraid men will be found with very great difficulty for either service, particularly for the Line. I don't say this without having thought much on the subject, and inquired a great deal about it while on my expedition to the south. I wish, therefore, your Lordship would have the goodness to call Mr. Addington's attention to it as early as possible. It must be well considered when your military estimates are formed.

I have written a great deal about Militia, but your Lordship will excuse me. I have seen a great deal of fighting with my own eyes, and, I own to you, I should be very sorry to see regiments of that description engaged with French troops in the field. I never can consider them in any other light than as means of feeding the Line with ready-made soldiers hereafter. I am not the less anxious, however, to have a force of that description raised, and you may rely on my doing my utmost to carry the measure into execution with as much effect and speed as possible.

Ever your Lordship's, &c.,
WM. WICKHAM.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Private and Secret. London, November 18, 1802.

My dear Sir—The messenger, Dawe, has just delivered to me your very satisfactory letter on the subject of Militia. I shall not now attempt to reply to the several points to which it refers: indeed, there is very little ground for reply at all, as the general reasoning is conclusive. I certainly did not advert to the power of enrolling volunteers having lapsed with the war. That being the case, it is impossible legally to attest the men, and, of course, on this, as well as on other grounds, forcibly stated in your letter, it will be wiser, by an early parliamentary authority, to get the power, than attempt to exercise it under such circumstances.

I wrote a few lines to apprise you that the necessity seemed less pressing in point of time than when I first wrote; but still I think that the Lord-Lieutenant should consider it as existing in a degree which calls for every exertion to establish a Militia force with the least delay possible. I feel with you the superiority of regular troops; but we must recollect, although we have lately happily got rid of many idle prejudices on the subject of the army, that neither the feelings nor the finances of the country are prepared to support such a force in peace as will place us in security at the outset of a war, without a powerful body of Militia in both islands. Ireland alone requires certainly not less than 50,000 men to put her in a state of adequate defence. You cannot expect a peace establishment of above one half the amount, and you have rather to apprehend a reduction of force than to expect an augmentation at the commencement of a war. You must, therefore, have an efficient local force, or the country will find itself in a state of weakness during an important period of the contest.

On the subject of regular force, you may be assured I shall not lose sight of your necessities, and, as far as my representations can weigh, they will be employed to second Lord Hardwicke's wishes. From hence, at present, you can hope for nothing. A corps of from 3 to 4,000 men is ordered home from the Mediterranean as soon as Egypt is evacuated. I shall urge stationing the greater share of this seasoned force in Ireland; but it cannot well arrive in less than two months. Lord Hobart, I am sure, will do his best for us; but still, you see, how much it is necessary you should do for yourselves.

I am happy to tell you in confidence—indeed, I must beg you to consider this communication as only meant for the Lord-Lieutenant and yourself—that Mr. Addington has made up his mind to station 25,000 men in Ireland as your peace establishment. Whatever turn affairs may take, we can only rely on our own strength, and the establishments will be formed accordingly.

I beg Lord Hardwicke and you will be assured that, although my proper province is the East Indies, I shall always feel the strongest desire to forward any wish of his which can either contribute to the security of Ireland, or to the satisfaction of his Excellency's Government.

I am, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Phœnix Park, November 19, 1802.

My dear Lord—I write a hasty line, to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 16th.

You will have learned from mine of Sunday last, that no measures were intended to be taken for issuing money to the colonels until new instructions should be made. I think it will now be right that the Attorney-General should bring in the general Militia Act, have it printed and circulated during the recess, and proceeded with as soon after the meeting in January as possible. In a measure of such extensive and various detail, I don't think it would be right, either for the sake of the measure itself, or for the sake of the respect due to the country gentlemen of Ireland, to carry it through Parliament without giving full time to collect the opinions of different descriptions of persons on the subject of all its provisions, many of which, though applicable to Great Britain, may be highly inexpedient for Ireland.

In the mean time, I think I can have the great majority of the Irish colonels of Militia committed to the opinion that the balloting *alone* could not be trusted to with safety, and that a discretionary authority *to recruit by provisional issues from the Treasury* should be given to the Lord-Lieutenant, in case it should be found in any particular county that the balloting system had failed, or that there existed no reasonable hope of being able to carry it into execution.

The only question will be, whether this extraordinary power should not be confined to cases of invasion, rebellion, and insurrection, or the *apprehension thereof.* I am inclined to think that this restriction might be left with safety, because I presume that it will be thought right to pursue the mode of levying men by fines on the counties to be applied to the stock purse, and employed in recruiting when the ordinary modes shall have failed. This power will, I think, be found sufficient to keep the regiments complete in peaceable times, and nothing stronger or more irregular should be resorted to but in cases of real necessity and danger.

The Attorney-General will have informed your Lordship that I had proposed, in case the Cabinet should be of opinion that the danger of the moment was really imminent, that the measure by which it was intended to give the above extraordinary powers to the Lord-Lieutenant should be made a separate and substantive Act of Parliament, applicable to the existing Militia laws of Ireland, and passed through both Houses with all possible expedition.

Whether the circumstances of the moment are now such as to justify such a measure, you alone, who are in the secret of affairs, can determine. If they should bear so unfavourable a complexion, you will surely have abundant ground for justifying such a proceeding (*even without saying that war is imminent*) in the defective and confused state of the old Militia laws; in the measure, arising from that state, which took place last spring, when all the old militiamen were discharged, so that you have not now a single man of that description in Ireland; in the impossibility that had hitherto been found to exist of raising men by ballot, and in the difficulty of framing a new and permanent system in time to furnish an effective Militia for the service of the ensuing year, during which it would not be either prudent or safe to leave the country without more efficient and extensive means of defence than we at present can be said to possess. Pray turn this whole subject well in your mind, and let me have your thoughts upon it at your very first leisure.

After all, we shall remain *very very* weak, and I hope you will never cease to urge the necessity of regular reinforcements.

Above all, keep in view the *interchangeable system.* It is by that system alone that, in my opinion, the Militia of Ireland can be rendered really useful for some years to come; I mean, the greater part of it; for some few regiments, I admit, may be trusted, without danger, and employed with advantage.

Have the goodness to mention to Mr. Addington all that I have written on this subject; it would answer no end for me to trouble him with a separate letter.

I think we shall make the Yeomanry effective at no very great additional expense, £64,000 for the current year, supposing peace (with or without a certain degree of alarm) to continue. I have sent the estimate this day to Mr. Yorke.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Phœnix Park, November 21, 1802.

My dear Lord—I send you the enclosed copy of Lord Muskerry's opinion on the Militia laws of Ireland. You shall have the opinion of the rest of the Militia Colonels as I receive them. Have the goodness to deliver the enclosed letters to Lord Loftus and his brother colonels; settle the answers with them, if possible, so as that they may fully meet our object. Your Lordship will find a copy of my letter to the Militia Colonels enclosed. I send one to yourself, that you may have an opportunity (if you think proper and have time so to do) of reducing your own thoughts on the subject to writing. I am sure, if you were to do so, you would give great satisfaction to the Lord-Lieutenant personally.

By the by, as I write to your Lordship, as well as to other Colonels, it will not be necessary for me to send you a copy of my circular letter.

9 P.M.

Since writing the above, I have received your Lordship's letter of the 18th, which is in every respect satisfactory. I shall write more at length on the subject in a few days; though, in truth, the letter you will receive, together with this, says almost all that I can say on Militia matters. I wish, however, to be understood, when speaking of *the interchangeable system*, not to press for such a system being established in time of peace; but merely that you should look to it as a war measure, and one which you should seize the first moment of war to carry, if possible; for war is generally more popular in its first year than as it grows older.

Ever your Lordship's, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

I will send Lord Muskerry's paper to-morrow.

SUPPLEMENT.

I. CATHOLICS.

Memorandum by Lord Castlereagh on Certain Regulations concerning Catholics, proposed by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Canning.

The principle of the provisions in Mr. Grattan's Bill seems to be, that, as no Catholic shall interfere in religious matters of the Protestant Church, no Protestant shall interfere in religious matters of the Catholic Church. No Catholic is to present to a Protestant living, or to advise the Crown as to any ecclesiastical office. And it is to follow, I suppose, *ex converso*, that no Protestant is to interfere with regard to any living or ecclesiastical office in the Catholic Church. The appointment of the Catholic Bishop and the regulation of the Catholic Church are to remain as at present, only Priests are to take a new oath, "that they will never consent to the appointment of any person to be a Bishop whom they do not judge loyal and peaceable; and that they will only correspond with the Pope on matters purely ecclesiastical." As to the principle, if meant to be acted upon, it should be carried much further; and Catholics should not be allowed to vote on any questions touching the Protestant Church. When Catholics were Privy Councillors, after the Reformation, they used to retire from the Council when matters affecting the Protestant religion and Establishment were discussed. As to the regulation of the new oath, by way of security to our Establishment, it is the greatest farce I ever read.

Mr. Canning's Clause.

A Board of Commissioners to be appointed, who are to have power to make rules for their own proceedings, and to take an oath of secrecy, and to have an absolute and unquestionable power to negative the appointment of a Bishop for not being loyal and peaceable.

2nd. To this Board are to be added the Chancellor and a Secretary of State, and a Vicar Apostolic for the purpose of inspecting bulls, &c. Any person receiving a bull is to send a copy to the Secretary of the Board, but if he chooses to swear it does not interfere with the temporal, civil, or social rights, properties, or duties of any subjects not Catholics, and does not affect allegiance—then the oath may be accepted instead of the bull. Persons receiving bulls, and not certifying or swearing as above, to be guilty of a misdemeanour and subject to banishment. I think a commission of lay Catholics to communicate between Government and their Church a very good institution. I do not like that jealousy of the Crown which is to make them removable merely by address. I do not like the oath of secrecy, nor do I see any occasion for it. Their decisions as to eligibility are to be unquestionable and final; and they must be guided merely by their general knowledge and feelings, because they have no judicial power to inquire by oath and decide accordingly.

As the clause is drawn, there is as great a religious objection to it as a veto. By the veto the eligibility depended on a *Protestant* Sovereign: by the clause, the right of exercising Episcopal functions, after elective appointment and consecration, is to depend upon a lay, though Catholic commission. The idea of a lay commission having power to set aside the election of a Bishop, and especially after approval by the Pope, is fundamentally opposite to the principles of the Church of Rome. As to the commission with regard to bulls, &c., why an oath of secrecy? Why is a copy of each bull to be brought and not the original? Why are such bulls not to be examined which shall be sworn to be purely ecclesiastical? These provisions arise from ignorance.

There is no secrecy in the Church of Rome, except in cases which belong to the *forum internum*, or confession. What passes in confession a Priest cannot reveal; but there are no such things as secret bulls, secret rescripts, &c., that is, such as are secret from the nature of the process, necessarily secret.

The Pope often sends secret orders to his Bishops, &c., but they are of no political nature, and it is against this kind of secrecy we complain.

When an oath of allegiance was enacted in 29 George II., the Pope ordered the Nuncio of Brussels to send a rescript declaring it null, &c. This was secret. Now what is the case? The Bishops and Vicars Apostolic are sworn to keep the Pope's secrets; they kept the Nuncio's secret, and all your regulations on this subject seem to me of no use; for the Titular Bishops can take no oath which is not subordinate to the oath they have taken to the Pope. But Mr. Canning's clause goes apparently to place the whole Government of the Romish Church in these kingdoms beyond the possible cognizance of Government, and establishes by law as *legal*, and not to be examined into, the Pope's authority over the Catholic Church in England and Ireland, in all matters *purely ecclesiastical*. But when a person refuses to certify a bull, he is to swear that it does not directly or indirectly interfere with the temporal, civil, or social rights, properties, or duties of *any other* of his Majesty's subjects. Does *any other* mean Protestants only, or does it include Catholics? If the latter, then I defy any man to suppose a bull which must not directly or indirectly interfere with social rights or duties, so that, under this construction, the exception would be inoperative, and every bull, of every possible kind, would be subject to the inspection of the commission.

I did not write to you fully about Canning's clauses last night.[1] When I stated that there was nothing necessarily *secret* in the Catholic system but *what passed in confession*, I should have added the cases arising from confession. Priests, who are judges in the tribunals of confession, cannot decide upon all sins and absolve them; upon certain classes there is a preference to the Bishops or Ordinaries, in others to the Pope, which are the *casus reservati*. I enclose a list of those cases. The tribunal of confession is the *internum forum*, and the resolution of these cases belongs to the internal *forum*, as originating from confession. The Pope's briefs, in these cases, are, I believe, sent to the Ordinaries, from the Ordinaries to the Priests, and by the Priests communicated to the confessionalists. Murder is a case reserved to the Pope to pardon. The murderer confesses his sin to the Priest. The Priest cannot absolve without a brief from the Pope; he refers the case to the Pope through the Ordinary, who refers it to Rome: then comes the brief to the Ordinary, from the Ordinary to the Priest, from the Priest to the murderer.

Those briefs relating to individuals are, I believe, in most Catholic countries kept secret. But in this, as in most other cases, the Pope gives an *indulto* to Bishops in their Dioceses, enabling them to give the Priests the power of pardon. The majority of cases *actually* reserved by the Pope are those relating to marriage and incests, because in these the parties are generally of the higher classes, and can pay good fees to the datary. In the Concordat of Buonaparte, he does not allow any appeal in these reserved cases to the Pope. The Pope, however, is supposed to have protested against this part of the Concordat.

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[1] From this reference it is evident that the observations contained in this paper must have belonged originally to a letter which has not been found in my collection.

II. PRESBYTERIANS.

Observations on the Situation of the Irish Presbyterians, by Alexander Knox, Esq.

The arrangement intended to be proposed in favour of the Irish Presbyterians will probably be most strongly combated, on the ground of its admitting a principle dangerously favourable to Dissenters in general. It may, of course, be desirable that the measure should be supported on such distinct and appropriate grounds as to preclude the plausibility of any such objection.

Such grounds seem to be afforded by the early and progressive history of the Irish Presbyterians. An attention to their origin will show that, though they have always been *Nonconformists*, they never could justly be deemed *Dissenters*, and that, all the circumstances of their case being duly weighed, they must be allowed to have peculiar claims upon the State, not merely for full toleration, but for a reasonable degree of countenance and protection.

The Presbyterians of Ireland were not, as those in England, voluntary seceders from the established religion of their country. Had they been so, they would have had just reason not only to be satisfied with what has been conceded to them, but to be singularly grateful. The fact is, however, that they never belonged to the Established Church of Ireland, nor could be deemed bound to conform to it on any principle of reason or justice.

Irish Presbyterianism is, in fact, of royal introduction. When it came within the power of the Sovereign to colonize one of the largest of the four provinces of Ireland, it was necessary to procure colonists from Great Britain, and Scotland was deemed the fittest part to furnish them, both on account of its nearness and its similarity of climate. Till then the people of that country had been prohibited by Act of Parliament[1] from entering Ireland, and intermarriage with them, or entertaining of them, made punishable. A dread of their religion had induced this measure in the reign of Mary, and it was suffered to remain in force through the long reign of Elizabeth. But when the failure of the last great effort of the Ulster chieftains, in 1608, left the disposal of almost all the northern counties to the Crown, James not only had the prohibitory Act repealed,[2] but he also made use of his own power and influence to promote the emigration of the Scots to the north of Ireland. The consequence was that, in the course of a few years, the province of Ulster, particularly the eastern part, became, as it were, another Scotland, in language, in manners, and in religion.

It was impossible for James not to have been aware of this last consequence of his plan of transplantation. Even then the Scots had shown their determined aversion to Episcopacy; and the western part of Scotland, from which the emigration chiefly took place, was notoriously the most zealous portion of the kingdom. The establishment, therefore, of Presbyterianism in the North of Ireland, and its hereditary transmission to the successive descendants of the emigrants, were just as much the necessary result of what was then done by the Parliament and the monarch as the fall of any heavy substance is the consequence of its being dropped from the hand.

But James was so far from being unapprized of his countrymen's steady adherence to Presbyterianism, that there is tolerable reason to believe that he took measures for humouring them in their religious preferences. Until this time, no Protestant Bishops had been appointed to the three or four lowest of the northern Sees. But the same events which introduced the Calvinistic colony left room also for the complete extension of the Episcopal Church Establishment. Bishops were accordingly settled in those hitherto Catholic Sees. But, in the choice of persons both to fill these and other contiguous ones, the most careful regard seems to have been had to the peculiar circumstances of the country. Scotchmen, not only accustomed to, but of known tenderness toward, the peculiar prejudices of their countrymen, were, except in one single instance,[1] nominated to the vacant Bishoprics; and under these indulgent prelates the colonists not only enjoyed their religion without molestation, but, when they formed the great majority of a parish, a minister of their persuasion not only occupied the church, but in many instances actually enjoyed the tithes.

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[1] 3 and 4 Phil. and Mar.

[2] 11, 12, 13, Jac. I. cap. vi.

The mode in which this indulgence was made compatible with law could hardly have been carried into practice without the knowledge, nor of course the approbation, at least the connivance, of the King. It must have occurred in too many instances not to have transpired. And yet, perhaps, never was liberality carried to a greater length. The persons to be appointed to parishes were as yet not in orders; it was of course necessary that they should be ordained, while, at the same time, they had invincible scruples against acknowledging Bishops. "That shall not hinder," said the Scotch Prelates of Down[2] and Raphoe,[3] "you may deny that we are Bishops if you please; but you cannot refuse to receive us as Presbyters; and therefore you must admit our joining as co-Presbyters with the other brethren in laying hands on you."

I merely mention these authentic particulars to illustrate, by matters of fact, the circumstances under which the original colonists stood. That this anomalous system was not formed for continuance must be granted, but its tendency to cherish hopes of some kind of permanent favour will scarcely be disputed. And it should seem that, in some of the severest periods which ensued, the peculiar claims of the Ulster colonists were not entirely forgotten; at least, they appear to have enjoyed liberty of conscience, when in England, and even in Scotland, Nonconformity was the subject of pains and penalties. Of this fact Burnet furnishes a very remarkable proof. "In Scotland," says he, in the year 1665, "great numbers were cast into prison, where they were kept long and ill used; and sometimes they were fined, and the younger sort whipped about the streets. But," he adds, "many went over" (for refuge) "to the Scots in Ulster, where they were well received, and *had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion.*"

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[1] Derry, peculiarly an English Colony, having been granted to the Londoners, had an English Bishop, a circumstance which strengthens the supposition of the Bishops being chosen with an eye to the temper of the people.

[2] Echlin. [3] Andrew Knox, ancestor of Andrew Knox of Prehen.

A time, however, at length arrived when something more than mere liberty of conscience might have been fairly expected. The Scotch Calvinistic Church, after many a storm, was not only restored to tranquillity, but made dominant, in that part of the Empire. At such a period, would it have been unreasonable for the Colonists of Ulster to look for some participation, as far as circumstances permitted, of this important benefit? If it be held as a general maxim that Colonists do not forfeit their native rights by their emigration, how peculiarly strong were the arguments here in favour of such an admission!—the emigration having taken place under the most special patronage of the Sovereign, the object to "civilize, strengthen, and secure" a most important part of the domestic Empire,[1] and the purposes so completely accomplished as that that portion of the island, which at no distant period had been the most barbarous and wretched, was now become the most improved and the happiest. Besides, to the recent unexampled prowess of those Colonists, was it not to be in a great degree attributed that the threatened ruin of British liberty had been averted, and the late tottering Constitution so gloriously re-established?

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[1] In the preamble to a Bill which was passed into an Act by the Irish Parliament (10 Car. I., cap. 4), for the naturalization of those of the Scottish nation who were *ante-nate* to King James's accession, are these words:—"It being a great discouragement and disheartening unto many of your said subjects of Scotland that otherwise would have planted themselves here for the further *civilizing*, *strengthening*, and *securing* your Highness's said realm against rebels at home and all foreign invasion."

Had not then *such* a colony some right to expect that, when the religion of their fathers was adopted by the State in the country which they had left, and when they had of *necessity* brought with them, and, by every kind of moral and equitable right, still retained an integral segment, as it were, of that religion—had they not, I say, some ground to hope that, even in the colonized country, benefitted as it had been by their labours, and defended by their magnanimity, they should enjoy some modified substitute for those ecclesiastical advantages which they should have had their full share of, had they continued at home? Such is simply the ground on which I conceive their cause might have been pleaded when Presbyterianism was established in Scotland. And if they had an equitable right to such a benefit then, it can hardly be supposed that mere lapse of time has destroyed that right, when their circumstances remain precisely the same. The only plausible objection would seem to arise out of the fact that it was not then attempted.

Of William's friendly dispositions toward the Irish Presbyterians there are the most unquestionable vouchers; some of his earliest acts, after he had got firm footing in Ireland, being marks of kind attention to their ministers.[1] But William's views were at that time strongly directed toward a comprehension of all temperate Nonconformists within the established

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[1] In a small quarto volume now before me, entitled, "An Historical Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians," I find two orders from King William in favour of the Irish Presbyterians: the first, dated Whitehall, November 5, 1689, requiring the Duke of Schomberg to give to the

Communion. With such a prospect, therefore, in his mind, he would hardly have taken up the plan of a distinct arrangement; and by the time that his conciliatory efforts proved abortive, such party dissensions had commenced as rendered every liberal design completely desperate.

That no subsequent attempt was made (except in certain enlargements of a very early bounty from the Crown), will not be wondered at by those who are acquainted with the Irish History during the last century. It is notorious that the party disputes which have been just alluded to, and which, after much open violence, in the reigns of William and Anne, continued, only with more smothered heat, in the reign of George the First, were scarcely anywhere more virulent than between the two great bodies of Irish Protestants. I will not pretend to say that the Presbyterians were remarkably gentle to their adversaries. They, no doubt, conceived that their personal and civil rights in Ireland were at least equal to those of any other British settlers; and, being in possession of so much of the landed property of Ulster, it was natural that they should feel their own consequence, and too unlikely that they should always act and speak with prudence. Certain it is that their original claims had at that time sunk into oblivion with all except themselves, and their pretending to remember or mention them appears to have furnished no small charge against them. Their wealth and influence brought them into corporations, and their success in this respect particularly seems clearly to have roused against them the jealousy and envy of their competitors.

The Revolution had given them liberty of religious worship, but peace was still at a distance. The more zealous of the established Clergy considered it a chief part of their duty to

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ministers and their congregations "that protection and support which their affection to the King's service deserved;" the other, dated Hillsborough, June 15, 1690, directing a bounty to the Ulster ministers of £1,200 per annum. (Page 396, 397).

reduce the Presbyterians by all means to the Episcopal Communion, in the same manner as if they had been self-made schismatics; and King, who was made Bishop of Derry in 1690, was so earnest in this pursuit, that he prevented Swift from being appointed to that Deanery, on the declared ground that, from his well-known levity of character, he was not qualified to co-operate with the Bishop in the work of proselytism. It does not appear, however, that King's endeavours were attended by any remarkable success. He wrote also against them, but probably with little other effect than increased exasperation. A champion of theirs, Boyse, of Dublin, who replied to the Bishop, was generally thought by his own party to have had the better in the controversy.

But the Bishop was not satisfied with a literary war. A more practical dispute took place between him and the Corporation of Londonderry about some land in the neighbourhood of that city, which, until then, seems to have been enjoyed by the inhabitants as a common, but which King thought proper to claim as a part of the See lands. In this he was strongly opposed by the Corporation; and, though he succeeded in his object,[1] he did not rest content with that triumph, but, from that time, appears to have uniformly opposed at the Council Board the approbation to the Mayoralty of that city of any Alderman who was obnoxious to him. Out of thirty-six members of the Corporation of Londonderry, twenty-two were Presbyterians; so that, no doubt, both first and last, religious considerations entered largely into the quarrel. King was soon afterwards translated to Dublin, but it does not appear that he left his resentments behind him. His great abilities gave him influence; and very probably it was owing to his continued exertions that the Presbyterians were excluded from all places of trust by the imposition of the Sacramental Test in 1703.

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[1] On consideration, I am not sure that King succeeded. I think I may say that it is the only fact stated of which I am not sure.

Of this unjust and impolitic measure, it might be almost said, in the words of Horace:—

> Ex hoc fonte derivata clades
> In patriam populumque fluxit.

Its immediate effects may be judged of from this one instance—that, in Londonderry alone, it disqualified ten out of twelve Aldermen, and twelve out of twenty-four Burgesses. I have read the correspondence which took place previously to their exclusion between their spokesman, the Chamberlain, and Attorney-General Rochfort, who was then Recorder. I must say of the letters of the former, that they breathed the spirit of a Regulus or a Cato. The general feeling it produced may be inferred from the expressions used in an apology presented soon afterwards to the Queen by the Presbyterians of Ulster. "It hath placed an odious mark of infamy," say they, "upon at least the one half of the Protestants of this kingdom, whose early, active, and successful zeal for the late happy Revolution gave them hopes that they would not have been rendered incapable of serving your Majesty and the country." It is remarkable, however, that this measure did not originate in the Irish Parliament, but with the English Privy Council, a clause to that effect being inserted in a transmitted Bill, for *preventing the further growth of Popery.*

It is not extraordinary then that the claims of the Irish Presbyterians should have been wholly overlooked, when their common privileges as citizens were thus cruelly wrested from them. The prohibitory Act of Philip and Mary was comparatively fair and honest: had it never been repealed, however, Ireland might have remained unimproved and uncivilized; the interdicted Scots could not have complained of it as actually oppressive. But to inflict such a severity on the posterity of the settlers, and for no other cause than that they inherited the rooted habits of their fathers, which it was not only their moral right to retain, but which it was not in human nature to relinquish—to do this after such encouragement to emigrate, and after such benefits to the country from their settlement, was, I should imagine, as flagrant a violation of all honour, justice, and truth, as ever occurred in political history.

To those who might object the disloyalty of too many Dissenters during the late troubles, as a reason why they should not be gratified in the present instance, I would recommend the candid consideration of the transaction just referred to. What possible consequences could such treatment produce, but deep and lasting alienation? It may be said that this severe law was long since repealed. Very happily for the country, it was; since, no doubt, to this we are, in a great measure, indebted for the loyalty which distinguished Presbyterians, of the higher order, at least, as generally as their inferiors were marked by the reverse. But, with respect to the disaffection we have witnessed, it should be remembered that it is much easier to fix a bad habit than afterward to remove it, and that, if pains are taken to disgust and irritate any body of people for a series of successive years, an impression must be made, which will also need successive years and perseverance in opposite usage effectually to do it away.

The feeling which this disqualification produced in the Irish Presbyterians may be inferred from what Swift charges them with having generally said at a time when the country was apprehensive of an invasion in favour of the house of Stuart. "When the north of Ireland was threatened," says he, "they argued in their pamphlets, in a menacing way, that, if such an invasion should take place, they would sit still and let us fight our own battles, since they were to reap no advantages, whichever side should be victors." And to whom but an intolerant bigot like himself could such a sentiment have appeared unreasonable? In persons so treated, was it anything but the voice of human nature? But we find an instance in Swift's own conduct of the additional goading to which they were subject from insolent individuals; I mean, his letter to Sir Arthur Langford, wherein, with a peremptory haughtiness, which at this day appears astonishing, he commands that respectable Baronet instantly to shut up a meeting-house which he had shortly before opened. I can only account for Swift's assuming such a style, by supposing that the house in question was within the Liberty of St. Patrick's.

From all this, what could follow but such calamities as we have heard of and seen? Men do not gather grapes from thorns: what, then, could have been reckoned upon but a succession of such movements as have actually taken place—Hearts of Oak, Hearts of Steel, seditious volunteering, and—the Irish Union? But, this is not all: their situation in Ireland no doubt encouraged emigration to America. Certain it is that they carried thither much of that spirit which excited and supported the Revolution there, and which, of course, has no little contributed to those events which have revolutionized so much of the Continent of Europe.

If such, then, have been the consequences of public injustice, is it not full time to pursue an opposite course? Where a right is founded on principle, it cannot become obsolete, unless there be such a change of circumstances as morally dissolves the obligation. But there is no such change here. The party who sanctioned and encouraged the emigration still morally exists, and is as competent as ever to fulfil the engagements which such sanction and encouragement implied. The Emigrants who trusted to the Royal patronage are also morally forthcoming in the persons of their descendants, who occupy the same place, exhibit the same characters, and feel the same wants. What, then, can be more just than to discharge an equitable debt, which has been withheld for more than a century? And what more truly politic than at length to expel, by a safe and salutary spirit of aristocracy, a contrary principle of such pernicious force as to have already spread the democratic contagion through the chief parts of the civilized earth!

1803.

During the year 1802, some indications of a turbulent spirit were manifested in the South of Ireland, and a design was familiarly talked of among the common people, although not called into action, of a meditated attack on the City of Limerick. In the month of January, 1803, judges were sent by special commission to try the disturbers of the public peace in the Counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford; in the two former of which commotions had been very general, while the latter was affected only from its proximity to Tipperary. In the progress of these trials, nothing of a treasonable disposition was discovered. The peasantry were deluded to act not from any political stimulus—for abstract politics could not by the most refined intrigue have been made a motive with people of their class. The artifice used, however, to set them in motion was more familiar to their business and to their powers of comprehension—they were invited to fix a rate for potatoes, the almost universal food of the multitude in those parts, and to join in a system of opposition to the introduction of *strangers*—by whom were meant persons from any other vicinity—to prevent their becoming the tenants of farms, and to compel the land proprietors, in their respective counties, to treat exclusively with the old occupants—causes which constituted popular pretexts for clamour of long standing in Ireland. It also appeared that a forward lead in these objects was taken by the men of the disbanded regiments of militia, who, during the calamitous period of the troubles, had been unfortunately led into licentiousness; and it is not to be wondered at, if, on their return to their counties, they were unfitted for the purposes and habits of quiet and industrious life.

The sacrifices made to public justice by the administrators of the law restored, at least, the appearance of tranquillity. The people, if not reclaimed, were awed into submission. The magistrates of Tipperary and Limerick earnestly petitioned, on this occasion, to be indulged with the power of inflicting discretionary punishment and transportation under the Insurrection Act. Government thought fit to refuse this authority. Had it been granted, it is more than probable that, under the circumstances of local irritation then generally prevailing, the flames of rebellion would have been rekindled throughout the whole South of Ireland; whereas, the course wisely adopted was completely successful, and tranquillity was restored.

Some time before the renewal of the war with France, a considerable degree of agitation had been observed among those who had favoured the cause of the United Irishmen, and also an alarming resort to Ireland of persons notoriously in the interests of the French Government. There were still to be found in the country some pardoned delinquents, who had yet to learn prudence from their escape from punishment, and who hailed the opportunity for recommencing their machinations. While some of these restless agitators spread themselves over the provinces, others fixed their abode in the metropolis: it has been alleged that an active correspondence was set on foot with France, but Mr. Marsden, Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant in the Civil Department, whose official situation furnished him with the best means of being accurately informed on the subject, expressly asserts that, in all the researches and investigations of the Government, scarcely any traces of such a correspondence were discoverable, though the leaders of the rebellion residing in different parts of the Continent were invited by the French Consul to Paris, consulted, cajoled, stimulated by flattery and promises, and directed to hold out similar encouragements to their partisans in their own country.

Among those who still cherished the political principles of the United Irishmen, and indulged in dreams of a separation from Great Britain, and an Irish republic, was Robert Emmett, youngest son of Dr. Emmett, who had long held the situation of State Physician to the Lord-Lieutenant, and brother of Thomas Addis Emmett, whom we have seen quitting a respectable situation at the Irish bar, to pursue the wild projects of 1798. From him, no doubt, Robert had imbibed those sentiments which, at the time of the disturbances, caused his expulsion, and that of eighteen other young rebels, from the University of Dublin, and rendered him an object of the vigilance of the Government. He had, in consequence, found it convenient to leave Ireland, and to reside abroad while the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, but had returned when it came again into operation.

This young man, who was scarcely twenty-one when his life became forfeited to justice, possessed promising talents, which, properly directed, might have raised him to fame, while his deportment and conversation at all times manifested a high degree of political enthusiasm.

The death of his father having placed £2000 in ready money at his disposal, he, with this fund, set about the subversion of an old established Government, and even the manufacture of all the means for accomplishing it—pikes, ammunition, not excepting gunpowder. His principal assistants in this insane project were, Dowdall, who had formerly held a very subordinate office under the House of Commons; Redmond, a man in narrow circumstances, who pretended to be engaged in some species of commerce; Allen, a broken woollen manufacturer; Quigley, a bricklayer, of considerable address. To these must be added Russell, a religious as well as political enthusiast, son of an officer of reputation in his Majesty's service, and who himself, placed early in the army, had served throughout the war in North America.

I believe, from all that was known, that though Emmett aimed at the separation of Ireland from British connexion, and her entire political independence, his patriotism revolted from the idea of seeing his country reduced to a dependency of France, as had been the fate of several States of the Continent which had accepted the insidious alliance and aid of her unprincipled Government. He was well acquainted with the projects under discussion with his exiled countrymen in Paris; and, to prevent their execution, he seems to have hastened his own plans more than he might otherwise have been disposed to do. A desk found in his depôt, which, during the last days of preparation, he made his exclusive abode, contained some papers, affording a clearer insight into his peculiar cast of character than description is capable of giving. One of these, apparently the careless effusion of a leisure moment, presented the following rhapsody:—

> I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes; that these difficulties will disappear, I have ardent, and, I trust, rational hope; but, if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition. To that disposition I run from reflection; and, if my hopes are without foundation—if a precipice is opening under my feet, from which duty will not suffer me to run back—I am grateful for that sanguine disposition, which leads me to the brink, and throws me down, while my eyes are still raised to the vision of happiness that my fancy formed in the heavens.

A man who, in the circumstances of the writer, could pen these lines, betrayed, in my apprehension, an almost entire absence of reason. What result could be expected from the plans of a mind so constituted—if, however, Emmett had so much as thought of forming any plan at all—but that which actually followed? Without money, without the influence or countenance of a single individual of name or note, without any but the rudest weapons, without force, save a few hundred of the meanest of the peasantry of Kildare and of the Dublin rabble, this hot-headed, rash, and inexperienced young man set about the task of storming the Castle, the Bank, the public offices, and possessing himself of the capital of the kingdom in the face of a numerous and efficient garrison. The attempted execution of this design corresponded with the conception. This rebel commander, after literally fretting and strutting his hour through the streets in green uniform, flourishing a drawn sword, surrounded by low desperadoes, whom he had dubbed generals and colonels, vanished from the theatre of his exploits, and was no more seen in public till he made his appearance on the scaffold.[1] An enterprise so like the effect of insanity might perhaps have pleaded for mercy, had not the blood wantonly spilt on the night of the 23rd of July demanded a signal atonement. The copious details of the events of that night, which will be found in the official reports of Mr. Marsden, might be thought to render it superfluous to pursue this subject further, but recent occurrences have imparted to it a renewed interest, so intense that, in order to render the information given in those reports more complete, I shall venture to add a few particulars gleaned chiefly from the Annual Register for 1803.

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[1] I would not hurt the feelings of the fallen at the sad moment of their retribution, but it is impossible to reflect on Emmett's career without greatly assimilating it to that of Smith O'Brien.

It appears that Emmett, having taken no precaution for the security of his depôt, nor provided any means of retreat to it, totally abandoned it to its fate. The bustle observed in the lane where it was situated, and the number of armed men issuing from it, naturally attracted attention. Lieutenant Coultman, of the 9th Regiment, then accidentally in Dublin, partaking in the general alarm, collected a few men, zealous and resolute like himself, some of them belonging to his own regiment, others volunteers of the barrack division, with a serjeant and twelve men, whom he met by the way, and proceeded to the place whence so much mischief had appeared to issue. The pikes, with which the lane was strewed, marked the way to the magazine, which, being wholly deserted, was entered without resistance by Lieutenant Coultman and his party. There they found the whole apparatus of rebellion—a large quantity of ball cartridge, gunpowder, hand-grenades, pikes, some military dresses, but, above all, eight thousand copies of a proclamation, wet from the press, of persons styling themselves the Provisional Government, and containing their project of a future constitution.

The authors of this instrument offered no sort of apology or vindication for intruding themselves into a situation already occupied: they appeared to suppose their claim and call to be perfectly notorious and allowed. Perhaps a higher effort of presumptuous pride and folly was never before presented to the world than that displayed in this manifesto, which did not even contain one word to attach or animate the people: hence it was supposed to be a surreptitious production of one of the meaner confederates. Nothing of the superior mind of an audacious contriver was there displayed. The whole was as formal as if it were an official document from an acknowledged and undisturbed government, and as peremptory and decided as if its authors had ascended to authority by prescriptive right and regular succession. It became the jest of the multitude as soon as it was made public: and perhaps no other circumstance could have tended more directly to produce in that class of people a disposition favourable to the established authorities; as they were here taught that the Irish were not to expect from a change of their constitution any redress of their grievances, nor any other alteration, save a change of governors.

After acting the general for the short space of an hour, Emmett, either finding himself deserted by his army, or at the head of a mob by whom his commands and even his entreaties were slighted, fled in despair from Dublin. Next morning, the secret history of the depôt, of the preparations there, and of his individual share in the transaction, became universally known. A man, in passing by the magazine on the 21st of July, had been taken prisoner by the conspirators, who were apprehensive that he had discovered the drift of their operations. His life had been spared by Emmett, contrary to the desire of the sanguinary miscreants around him. On the night of the 23rd, after being detained two days, he effected his escape, and was able to detail minutely all the transactions of the place, and to describe the persons whom he had seen there. A pursuit after the chiefs was immediately commenced. Emmett, with twelve chosen men, had taken the road leading to the mountains adjacent to Dublin. There, with a folly closely resembling insanity, which indeed marks all the transactions of these wretched enthusiasts, men who could have no rational hope of safety but in concealment marched about in the dress of French officers; but they received no other succour than what compassion afforded. Their appearance, and the character which they had assumed, naturally excited notice and alarm, and search was made for them in every direction. Emmett again took refuge in Dublin, where he was quickly discovered by the police, and committed to prison. His principal assistants fled. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the country; Redmond was apprehended at Newry, as he was about to take his passage to America; Quigley and Stafford concealed themselves in the interior of the country, and were not taken till after the execution of Emmett.

The prisoners secured on the night of the 23rd were some of the most wretched among the rabble. About three weeks after the affair, a commission was appointed for trying all those charged with treason against whom evidence appeared. These, with Emmett and Redmond, were severally brought to trial, convicted, and executed. Emmett made no defence whatever, but, when called to receive sentence, he delivered an animated address to the Court, avowing his treasons, and appearing to consider himself as suffering for the cause of his country. But what Irish felon, condemned to suffer for his crimes, has not claimed for himself the character of an innocent and a martyr! At his execution, he displayed uncommon firmness and composure, declared himself a member of the Church of England, and accepted the services of a clergyman of that communion.

At the time that Emmett hazarded his silly attempt in the metropolis, his friend and associate, Russell, made an appeal to the passions of the people in an obscure corner of the northern province; but he was so coldly received, and so alarmed by threats of being apprehended, that he fled; yet from his place of concealment he ventured to issue a proclamation, in which he styled himself General of the Northern District, and endeavoured to seduce the people by that sort of language with which they had formerly been familiar. When Emmett was taken, Russell repaired clandestinely to Dublin, where he could not long escape the vigilance of the police. Two days after his arrival, he was secured, without resistance, at a house in Parliament Street, and immediately transmitted to Downpatrick, where he was shortly afterwards tried, and, upon the clearest evidence of his treason, convicted. After his trial, he manifested all that wildness of religious enthusiasm which had for some time formed the prominent feature of his character. On conviction, he addressed the Court at great length, and with remarkable firmness. He declared his adherence to the political opinions for which he was about to suffer, and touched the gentlemen of the County of Down, by whom he was surrounded, in a tender point. These gentlemen had once been foremost in the outcry for parliamentary reform and political independence. Russell reminded them of this circumstance, and declared that he was about to suffer for endeavouring to put into execution the lessons imbibed among them, and concluded by begging a few days of life, in order to complete a moral work upon which he was engaged. The nature of this work sufficiently exhibited the state of mind of the unfortunate author. It was a collection of notes on a publication by the celebrated millenarian, Mr. Dobbs, tending to enforce that writer's interpretation of certain prophecies, which, according to him and his disciples, indicated the near approach of the Millennium.

After the execution of Emmett and Russell, Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the County of Galway. Government, however, satisfied with the examples which had been made, was inclined to lenity; and the lives of these two, and of the other untried prisoners, were spared, on their making a full disclosure of the yet unknown circumstances of their treason.

Ever since the Rebellion of 1798, a leader of the insurgents, named Dwyer, had remained in arms, at the head of a gang of deserters and banditti; and, obstinately rejecting repeatedly proffered mercy, he had dexterously eluded pursuit, and maintained himself under the protection of the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains. His party did not ostensibly exceed twenty, but he was supposed to possess unbounded influence over the peasantry of that district, so that, for any notable undertaking, a large body of men was within his means of command. To this man, overtures had been made on the part of Emmett; and he had been urged to levy his utmost force, and to make the first attack on the capital. Dwyer, however, gifted with infinitely more good sense and prudence than Emmett and his associates displayed, is reported to have replied to their application, that "he would not commit his brave men upon the faith or good conduct of the rabble of Dublin: however, if the latter could accomplish any point of moment, or he could perceive the green flag [the colour of the rebels] flying above the King's on the tower of the Castle, he would be at hand to cover or second the enterprise."

After its utter failure, however, Dwyer, and the outlaws whom he commanded, struck with the impracticability of any treasonable attempt which they could undertake, submitted on the stipulation that their lives should be spared; and thus was brought to a close whatever remained of the Rebellion of 1798, and the conspiracies of that period and 1803 were at once completely destroyed and buried in the same grave.

A very strong sensation was excited throughout every part of the British empire by this conspiracy and its attendant circumstances. Not less was the surprise that a city, second only in importance in the

British dominions, garrisoned by a numerous and well-appointed soldiery, under the command of an officer of the highest reputation, and the seat of the civil government of the kingdom, should have been for more than two hours in the hands and at the mercy of a lawless mob. These were circumstances so unaccountable, that an investigation of the causes was looked for as a matter at once of right and necessity. No such satisfaction, however, was afforded, and it was generally considered that blame of the most serious nature was attributable to the Irish Government, and the friends and partisans of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Commander-in-Chief strove in mutual recrimination to shift it from the one to the other. The result was that General Fox was removed from Ireland, although Lord Hardwicke was continued in the Lieutenancy.

From the official Reports by Mr. Marsden, the accuracy of which I see no reason to doubt, it appears to me that both parties rendered themselves liable to the charge of remissness—the civil authorities for not calling the soldiery in the City into action on the very first symptom of the disturbance, of which, it is admitted, that they were forewarned; and the military for not despatching the troops in the barracks till some hours after they were sent for.

The circumstance from which this hopeless and disastrous commotion derived a degree of celebrity far beyond that which would naturally belong to the ordinary acts of disturbance in a disaffected country, and in an ill-regulated metropolis, was the dreadful catastrophe of the Chief Justice of Ireland, the Lord Viscount Kilwarden.

This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country-seat nearly four miles from Dublin, as he was accustomed to do, after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. The last judicial acts of his Lordship, on the morning of this calamitous day, were the liberation of confined debtors under the provisions of the Insolvent Act, and the prescribing some humane regulations tending to alleviate the miseries of others who were not entitled to its benefits. His seat lay on that side of the town whence the insurgents were collected; and a degree of alarm was excited in his family, towards evening, by the reports which then poured fast upon each other, of vast numbers of suspicious persons having been seen flocking to the City, and of their obvious intentions, which indeed there was no longer any attempt to conceal, and which must have been by that time sufficiently notorious.

Lord Kilwarden had probably, with advancing years, grown somewhat timorous ; but certain it is that, since the outrages of 1798, he was in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and murdered by rebels, and had not ventured from that time till within the present year [1803] to pass a night out of Dublin. On the first intimation of the circumstances denoting disturbance, his fears returned, and his anxious mind recalled the horrors and the audacity of the last rebellion. It probably occurred to him that the moving forward directly upon the metropolis was an argument of the greater strength, confidence, and resources of the insurgents than on the former occasion. His situation likewise was peculiar. As Attorney-General, it had been his duty to point out numbers of the disaffected to the offended laws of their country; and as a judge, to order many of that description for execution. He, therefore, had reason to apprehend the most dismal effects from their ferocious resentment. In an evil hour, under the influence of such reflections, his Lordship determined to repair to Dublin for protection; and for that purpose, accompanied by his daughter and nephew, he set out in a post-chaise about the dusk of the evening.

Passing unmolested through the deserted roads leading to the capital, they so continued till they reached the city, and so indeed they would have remained, had they not quitted the country. Naturally reasoning that in the most frequented parts of the town there would be most safety, he directed his carriage to proceed through St. James's and Thomas's Streets, which were then in the undisturbed occupation of the insurgents. It was not till it arrived within twenty yards of the entrance of Thomas's Street, that the chaise was stopped by the mob. Lord Kilwarden immediately declared his name, and earnestly sued for mercy, but in vain. The savages dragged him and his companions from the vehicle, exclaiming that they would have his life and his nephew's, but must spare the lady's. Accordingly, they desired her to get away as fast as she could, and allowed her to pass through their entire column without injury or interruption. The unresisting nobleman and his relation were then struck to the ground, still imploring mercy from their murderers, who fell upon them with their pikes. It was afterwards stated in evidence by his Lordship's servant, that the ruffians violently contended, and even fought, for the distinction of stabbing their prostrate and defenceless victims. The terrified young lady running meanwhile through the streets, scarcely knowing whither, fortunately reached the Castle, in a state bordering, as may well be conceived, upon phrenzy, and made known the situation in which she had left her father.

On the flight and dispersion of the rioters, as soon as the streets were a little cleared, some humane persons went to explore the scene of murder. The lifeless body of Mr. Wolfe was found a few yards from the spot where the chaise had been stopped, whence it was conjectured that he had contrived in the crowd to get away to that distance, but, being then pursued and overtaken, the murder was there consummated. In Lord Kilwarden, life was not wholly extinct. He was carried to the nearest watch-house, and received such accommodation as that wretched place could afford. There he expired in about half an hour. His last words, uttered in the agonies of a most cruel and painful death, bleeding, bereft of the society of friend or acquaintance, and stretched on the hard bed of a watch-house, were such as would have graced the lips of justice in her most dignified situation, and in the full enjoyment of undisturbed reflection. A bystander, shocked at the dreadful scene, exclaimed with a warmth commensurate with the intensity of the feeling which it had excited, that the murderers ought to be executed the next day. That justice which this excellent man was accustomed to dispense arose to the mind and the lips of the expiring magistrate; that love of law and order which governed all his actions rallied his drooping powers, and he raised his head for the last time to exclaim, "Murder must be punished; but let no man suffer for my death, but on a fair trial, and by the laws of his country."

Arthur Wolfe, Lord Viscount Kilwarden, was a native of Ireland, and had served the Crown in the usual gradations of the highest law offices. As Crown prosecutor, during a period which unfortunately called very frequently for the exercise of the duties of that office, he was fair, candid, and gentle, disposed to give the delinquent every reasonable advantage, and always less desirous to exaggerate guilt than to ascertain innocence. As a judge, no man ever presumed to censure him on any other ground than a strenuous, and what some considered in critical times, an overstrained assertion of the liberty of the subject. In short, in the hands of Lord Kilwarden, the high situation in which he was placed suffered no diminution of credit and respectability.

From the Correspondence of this year, it is evident that Lord Castlereagh, though removed from Ireland, was not inattentive to the local interests of that country; it also shows, particularly in the letters addressed to him by Mr. Wickham and Colonel Littlehales, the especial solicitude of Government to provide a sufficient military force in Ireland to meet any emergency which might arise on the renewal of the war with France, in the month of May.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, January 17, 1803.

My dear Lord—I do not know how far, at this moment, old subjects may be interesting to you, but I imagine what you are once strongly convinced of you will not be apt to relinquish. I think, therefore, your Lordship will not be displeased with the following passage from Wraxall's History of France, which strikes me as peculiarly applicable to the state of things in Ireland. I copy it from the 7th vol. of the *British Critic*, May, 1796, p. 536-7.

"If we were to fix on the period when the Hugonots were in the meridian of their power and political strength, we should incline to date it between the Colloquy of Poissy, in 1561, and the Massacre of Paris, eleven years afterwards. During that interval, marked by all the calamities of civil war and religious discord, persecution sustained and inflamed their enthusiasm. They still continued to be formidable under Henry III., though their numbers were lessened. But, after the accession of the King of Navarre to the throne of France, they began rapidly to diminish. The desertion of that monarch, and his reconciliation to the Church of Rome, together with the toleration granted them by him, tended insensibly to draw off all those who were not animated with fervent zeal for the maintenance of the reformed religion."

The question of the Coronation Oath is, doubtless, at present dormant, but, as it may not always be so, I would take the liberty of pointing your Lordship's attention to one or two facts.

You need not be informed that the present oath derives from the articles of Union with Scotland, but the principle on which it was adopted is curious and important. The last effort against the Union in Scotland, as in Ireland, was through the medium of the Church. There it was urged that Presbyterianism must perish if it came under the rule of an Episcopal Parliament, to obviate which objection, or rather perhaps to clog the business, an Act perpetuating Presbyterianism in Scotland was passed, to be made a part of the Articles of Union, and hereby to put the Scottish Church out of the power of their southern neighbours. One of the provisions of this Act was that every succeeding sovereign should take an Oath at his Coronation, to maintain and preserve inviolably the true Protestant religion, as established in Scotland. Upon this, the high churchmen in the English Parliament asked—Shall we not be equally careful for our Church? If they fear our numbers, we may fear their intrigues; if they are coming under Episcopalians, we are letting in Calvinists. Accordingly, a similar Act was passed in England—not precisely similar; the perpetuating terms are more lax in England—and an oath of like import enjoined on succeeding monarchs. All this you are apprised of at least as well as I; but I state particulars for the sake of the inference I wish to make. If this oath was enjoined for the express purpose of making it safe for persons *not* of the established religion to come into Parliament, how can it be supposed to prohibit any farther admission of such persons? Does it not, on the contrary, at once recognise the principle of such admissibility, and make effectual provision for its safe exercise by providing, together with the other clauses of the Act, that the interior of the Church shall not be subject to the discretion of either King or Parliament? Instead then of being pleadable on any just grounds, against the admission of Roman Catholics into Parliament, it actually aids in removing the chief objection; since it is obvious that English Episcopacy was in fully as much danger from the admission of Presbyterians, as British Protestantism can be from the admission of Irish Roman Catholics, and consequently what has been held to create security in the former instance must preclude all serious danger in the latter. Whatever force, therefore, the Coronation Oath has in the question, it is rather in favour of the Roman Catholic admissibility than against it—it affords, at least, an indirect argument for them, but certainly has no relevancy to their prejudice.

It is remarkable that an attempt was made to perpetuate the exclusion of Roman Catholics by introducing into this very Act that of 25 Car. II. The motion was made in the House of Lords (where the bill for securing the Church of England originated,) but was negatived by sixty-three to thirty-three. Of course this, with the express proviso that the Test oaths should be alterable at the discretion of Parliament, added to what is stated above, proves demonstrably that no principle exists in any portion of the constitutional sphere which militates against Roman Catholics being admitted into Parliament, so soon as, on general grounds, it shall be deemed expedient.

I am ever, &c.,

ALEX. KNOX.

Lieut.-Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential. Dublin Castle, May 25, 1803.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Marsden having mentioned to me your wishes respecting a division of the Yeomanry Corps in the County of Down, which were commanded by the late Mr. Maxwell, between Mr. E. Ward and Mr. Savage, and having received from Mr. Wickham, about the same time, Mr. Ward's Letter to your Lordship on this subject, I immediately, with the permission of the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote to the Yeomanry Inspector of the District, and, in consequence of his Report, have since communicated with both Mr. Savage and Mr. Ward, in order that an arrangement may be made for their mutual accommodation, that each may have two Corps in the manner suggested by your Lordship.

Knowing the value and importance of your Lordship's avocations, and having myself subordinately been fully occupied with public concerns, I have not written to you for some time. I have now the satisfaction to mention that the arrangement which I proposed to his Excellency and Mr. Wickham, and which was approved, of raising and embodying the Militia by Companies (although an operation of considerable official detail and trouble) has fully answered our expectations.

Every Regiment and Battalion, except two, is now embodied, and of 18,525 privates, of which you know our Establishment at present consists, conformably to the Act passed here in the year 1795, we have nearly 17,000 effective men, and the remainder will, in all probability, be raised in a very short time.

Sir William Medowes said to me yesterday, You may tell your friend, Lord Castlereagh, that I have received a most favourable report of his Regiment from Brigadier-General Hart. In the distribution of the Militia Corps which are soon to be marched out of their Counties, it is intended that the Londonderry Regiment should be quartered in Dublin.

As your Lordship is no doubt thoroughly informed of the situation of affairs in this country, I have no great occasion to trouble you with any observations on the subject, but to say that we still continue to enjoy internal tranquillity.

The disposition in the North is unquestionably at this moment more cordial to Government, from all that I can collect, than it has been for years past. Without entering into particulars, it is understood that the Northern Sectarists hold a language very inimical to the views and conduct of Buonaparte, and consider his despotic intentions of aggrandizement utterly subversive of every principle of civil liberty; and, from all accounts, the northern people do not hesitate loudly to exclaim against him for his oppression and tyrannical behaviour towards the Swiss.

Your Lordship, however, is too well acquainted with the inflammable materials of which Ireland is composed, to appreciate too highly or over-estimate the present comfortable posture of things, in comparison to what they have been, or may be, if we are again to be menaced with invasion from our implacable enemy.

In regard to the conduct of the Yeomanry, without being over-sanguine, I think that a steady loyalty has generally manifested itself among them, with less appearance of violence, prejudice, and animosity than your Lordship knows was unfortunately heretofore too much the case. I have given this subject most constant attention, as in the absence of the Chief Secretary, the whole management of this important concern has, of course, exclusively devolved upon me, under his Excellency's directions.

Your Lordship is already apprized of the necessity, from the abuses and irregularities which formerly prevailed in this institution of subjecting the Yeomanry to precise regulations and forms: and notwithstanding that two days' pay was the only allowance granted to each member of the Yeomanry Corps, who actually appeared at every quarterly inspection, the effectives, in the last quarter, of serjeants and rank and file upon parade, were about 32,000, independent of the Yeomanry in the Counties of Galway, Mayo, and Kerry, for which, from various causes, no accurate returns had been received; and there cannot be a doubt that, in this quarter, the numbers in the drill will be considerably augmented, abstracted from the several offers from respectable persons, which we daily receive for raising new Corps of Yeomanry, or increasing the establishment of those now incorporated. Our regular effective force, including cavalry, artillery, and infantry of the Line, amount to above 19,000 (or near 20,000) effective rank and file.

The Artillery depôts are represented to be well stored, and the light brigades perfectly fit for service.

Handfield has, as usual, placed the Commissariat department upon a respectable footing, and is laying in provisions and forage at Clonmel, Tullamore, and Dungannon. It is proposed, unless General Fox, who is lately arrived, should alter this arrangement, to assemble the light infantry companies of the Militia, as formerly, at Athlone, and to put them under the command of Brigadier-General Scott, who is soon expected in Ireland for that purpose; and other parts of Lord Cornwallis's military arrangements in Ireland will, I have reason to hope, be generally observed.

I ought to apologize to your Lordship for the length of this communication, but as you will give me credit for the sincerity of my motives in making it, I need only say that I ever am, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, Dawson Street, July 15, 1803.

My dear Lord—I dare say Dr. Black has written fully to your Lordship respecting what he feels so happy a termination of the Presbyterian business. There are, however, some matters respecting it which I will take the liberty of mentioning to you, as, from my more private intercourse with Mr. Marsden, they may have struck more strongly upon my mind than upon his, and also as it is probable that the confidence so kindly reposed in me may have had some share in giving the transaction the turn which it took in the hands of the Government.

The first thing which I was led to urge was that Dr. Black should be conferred with solely. The mention of the Moderator in the official letter I conceived to have proceeded from the thought that such a form was requisite, as having, in former instances, been used. But my conviction was that the relinquishment of that form could do no possible harm; that considering the known principles of the actual Moderator, the conferring with him might be some such thing as if the British Minister were to confer with a French spy, and also that, as Government was about to commence a new mode of aiding the ministers, it was suitable for it to take its own way of conferring with them. When I mentioned to Dr. Black what I had advised, he agreed with me most cordially, and gave himself the same opinion, in terms indeed not to be resisted. And it was well we prevailed; for, considering the delay which occurred, nothing could have been more unhappy than to have had an enemy of the measure detained here to the last moment, in such suspense, and then, as the event must have been, that he should have gone off to the Synod, with the intelligence that no notification had arrived; for, from his duties at the opening of the Synod, such must have been his tidings: whereas, by Dr. Black alone being conferred with, no inconvenience whatever arose, though the letter from the Cabinet did not arrive until Saturday night.

The next point which I ventured to oppose was the intimation about petitioning. It seemed to me an inconsistency of the grossest kind and of most pernicious consequence, that, after Ministers had, by their notification of last year, pledged themselves positively to the measure, reserving only the *manner* of it for future consideration, they should, as it were, require those who were to be benefitted to become auxiliaries in obtaining from Parliament the necessary fund—such a proceeding as this, at such a stage of the business, would evidently have been at once undignified and injurious; for, besides the strange light in which it must have appeared, it would not and it could not have been complied with.

A third matter I had no share in. It was settled, and in my mind, most advantageously, between his Excellency, Mr. Marsden, and Dr. Black—I mean, that Dr. Black should be the agent of Government, *not* of the Synod. The incongruity of continuing the Synod's power over the agent, when they were no longer to have any power over the distribution, was self-evident, and to leave to them such a bone of contention as appointment, or even recommendation, in so lucrative an employment would have been a great injury to their respectability. Besides, now, the agent, being an officer of Government, will be to all intents (with less state but far more efficiency than in Scotland) a Royal Commissioner in the Synod, whereas, because he is under no control, he will be certain of respect and influence.

As I think myself peculiarly accountable to your Lordship for everything I say or do in matters of a public nature (since it is to your kindness and attention to me I owe any opportunity I have of acting in that way), I have deemed it my duty to tell your Lordship simply the part I have taken in that matter, which I know particularly interested you. And I seriously think that, to whomsoever the discretion which has been used by the Irish Government is to be attributed, whether to the good sense of Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Marsden, or also to the sensible and clear statements of Dr. Black, together with the little influence I might have, the modification has been necessary, and will be beneficial; and I conceive, without such alterations, it would not have been *your* plan, either in form or efficacy.

And now permit me to make one remark, of which I trust your Lordship will feel (indeed, I hope and I think, must have already felt) the justness. So far the business is well settled; but, in order to the wished-for effect, it will be absolutely necessary that there should be no circumstantial drawback.

Let, then, by all means, a fund be provided to cover all attendant expenses, so that the sums mentioned for the individuals may be received by them without the deduction of a fraction. To do otherwise would be to lose the effect of thousands for a penny matter. Pells, and poundage, and the agent's fees will be, I suppose, the whole additional expense, except a matter which Dr. Black wishes, and in which, I humbly conceive, he ought to be listened to—a salary for the Synod Clerk (for whom there will be now no provision) of, suppose £50 per annum. These would require but a small addition to the great expense, and will, therefore, imply but a very trifling sacrifice to that fulness of effect and dignity of manner, which it is essential to aim at in all such arrangements. I would fain hope that I am talking on this head superfluously—of a thing predetermined, or, what would be as good as predetermined, left to the discretion of the Lord-Lieutenant.

On the whole, if nothing is now done or omitted to lessen the efficacy, I believe a happier policy has never been resorted to than this plan of your Lordship's. Never before was Ulster under the dominion of the British Crown. It had a distinct moral existence before, and moved and acted on principles, of which all we could certainly know was that they were not with the State, therefore, when any tempting occasion occurred, ready to act against it: now the distinct existence will merge into the general well-being, the Presbyterian ministers being henceforth a subordinate ecclesiastical aristocracy, whose feeling must be that of zealous loyalty, and whose influence upon their people will be as surely sedative when it should be so, and exciting when it should be so, as it was the direct reverse before.

There is one reason, not yet mentioned, for going beyond the sum proposed, which, I own, appears to me imperative. The Agent must be the servant of Government. The whole would be fruitless, if no means were secured of exercising that fair influence which the liberality of Government will necessarily imply, but which can only be realized by Government having a confidential organ in the Synod.

Such an organ the Agent will not fail to be, if he be strictly and exclusively the servant of Government; but this he can only be by Government paying him. Nothing could be more awkward or more likely to frustrate all real advantages than for him who can alone exercise the trust referred to, to be the *imposed stipendiary* of every individual minister: such a situation would imply actual degradation. It would not only defeat every purpose of Government as to influence, but it would place the Agent in circumstances which to every man of honourable feelings would be insupportable. Hitherto he had nothing to do with individuals; he was the servant of the body, paid out of the general fund previously to distribution. Now, the distribution being made by Government, every one could calculate to a fraction how much he was taxed for the Agent. Would not such a feeling in the breasts of low, narrow-minded men, be likely to expose the Agent to insult, and would it not be wholly incompatible with all useful objects? On the contrary, let Government pay their own Agent out of the public purse, and he becomes necessarily a sort of Royal Commissioner in the Synod. He has all the influence of such an officer without the show; he will be looked up to with respect: he will be an efficient link by which the whole system will hang upon Government. He will be a kind of permanent Moderator, to whom, in all matters of a public nature, infallible attention and deference will be paid.

I hesitate not to say that this advantage ought not to be lost for ten times what it will cost. I am confident that it should be regarded as the key-stone of the arch, without which all the rest of the work will be disjointed and unproductive. Let this, then, only be added, and Government will have done more to promote peace and union in this grand outpost of the Empire than ever was yet achieved, or could be achieved, by any other conceivable means. I speak from deep conviction when I make this assertion.

I say more—this is perhaps a more favourable moment for forming a salutary connexion between Government and the Presbyterian body of Ulster than may again arrive. The Republicanism of that part of Ireland is checked and repressed by the cruelties of Roman Catholics in the late Rebellion, and by the despotism of Buonaparte. They are, therefore, in a humour for acquiescing in the views of Government beyond what they ever were, or (should the opportunity be missed) may be hereafter. How much, then, is it to be wished that, while the tide of their wrong passions is so unusually low, a mound should be raised that will for ever after be a safe restraint to them! In building that mound, what a pity to stop at the coping!

I say nothing of covering the Pells and Poundage, except this, that, where tranquillization and attachment are the objects, where much is already done to accomplish those objects, the effect should not be hazarded for a trifling consideration. Hitherto the Royal Bounty has implied no disappointment, because no idea existed in the mind of the individual but that of the dividend he received. Now, were there to be any abatement, however just in abstract principle, there would be always two jarring ideas in the minds of the receivers—the greater sum *named*, and the smaller sum *received*. The result would be such as ought not to be incurred, when it can so easily be prevented.

My dear Lord, pardon me for adding a word on a very distant but yet not very different subject. I earnestly wish your Lordship would make inquiry about a law enacted by the Legislature of Jamaica to prevent Methodist Preachers preaching to the Negroes, and transmitted to Great Britain for the approbation of the King. I seriously think a more unchristian, flagitious measure never was thought of under a free Government. But it is, in my mind, directly in the teeth of the British Toleration Act, which surely, express and mandatory as it is, no Colonial Legislature can be competent to rescind. Never was there more disinterested Christian charity than the going to Jamaica to christianize slaves, and never surely was there more infernal cruelty than to withhold from such a pitiable class of rational creatures the sole consolation of which they are susceptible.

I beg leave to add that, from my knowledge of that branch of Methodistic labours, I am convinced there can be no just ground for such a measure. Think of this, and indeed you will oblige and gratify your Lordship's ever faithful servant,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

Mr. Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh.

July 21, 1803.

My dear Lord—I know how much and how momentously you must at present be engaged; therefore, no slight motive could at this time induce me to trouble you with a *third* letter. But I am so convinced of the great political importance of the subject briefly mentioned in the conclusion of my last letter, that I seriously think I should be wanting in my duty to my country and to Government, if I were not to state fully to your Lordship the view which, on the fullest consideration, I am obliged to have of that same Jamaica law. When I explain myself, I trust you will see that I am in this instance only proceeding in the same course, in which for the last five years I have had the honour and the pleasure of moving as a sort of satellite to your Lordship.

That your Lordship may see at once what the law is, I enclose with this a monthly publication, in which it is inserted and remarked upon; and, that you may be enabled to judge what weight should be allowed to the observations which are made, I beg leave to mention one or two illustrative circumstances.

For a hundred years, at least, there has not been so much attention given to religious matters as is at this time by numbers in the middle ranks of society in England. Of these many are Dissenters, but many are also in the Establishment. Both descriptions are alike denominated *methodistical*, and certainly the fact is that they do so agree in some common features as to give ground for the designating of them by a common appellative, though, in other respects, they vary exceedingly, including shades of difference, down from the strictest rationality to absolute fanaticism.

Of this extended class the political importance is much greater than any one slightly informed respecting them can conceive an idea of. In the first place, they have a *common sentiment*, which, if engaged on the side of Government, would be an impregnable mass of strength; but, if unhappily revolted, alienated, or even chilled, the negative injury would be immense, to say nothing of positive bad effects.

I will tell your Lordship why I think their being engaged on the side of Government is of such peculiar importance.

1. Because, on any real emergency, their religious temper will make them the steadiest and the most undaunted, considered as a body, of any of the classes of society. This has uniformly been proved. It was by an unfortunate misapplication of such fortitude that Cromwell raised himself to power. But to you, I conceive, this position will speak for itself.

2. Because, if public danger increases, the persons I speak of will have an increased influence on others round about them—sense of danger has always increased religious sentiment—and, as this extends, they who are accounted more religious than their neighbours will be proportionately more esteemed and looked up to. These, therefore, of whom I speak are not merely to be estimated by their own portion of power, but also by their tendency to act, either in the way of excitement or depression, on the power of others. If they appear zealous and confident, that zeal and confidence will be much more communicable than the same tempers in persons of another character: if, on the contrary, this class should be hopeless, or even indifferent, it would produce a worse contagion than any other species of disaffection.

In what I am now stating, I express the conviction of my own judgment; but I do not wish to occupy you unnecessarily. The number of the class I refer to is beyond calculation. Were I to suppose it amounting to a million of British and Irish individuals, I should probably be too low. Think, then, what a serious thing it would be to alienate the minds or sink the spirits of such a multitude, and a multitude so likely to influence others, as I have stated above.

This fatal consequence, I am convinced, would arise from his Majesty's confirming the law in question. There is not a heart in that multitude I speak of which would not feel a chilling damp at knowing such a fact. They would think that their Sovereign was no longer that friend to religious liberty which his grandfather and great-grandfather had been, and that, therefore, as God's guidance was not with him, so God's blessing was not likely to attend him. Though, therefore, they would not desert their duty or violate their allegiance, they would think that the cause was desperate, and that Divine Providence must eventually be hostile to such an unchristian and inhuman procedure.

I ask, then—Is the inclination or interest (I might more truly say, the abandoned profligacy) of a few West India planters to be put into competition with the attachment of such a mass of British inhabitants as those I have described? I would not speak such strong language, if I were not deeply impressed with the facts: but I really am not saying half what I feel. Sure I am that, if Buonaparte knew the actual circumstances, he would consider such a measure as infinitely conducive to his views, and would gladly sacrifice millions from his Treasury (were it to be purchased) to ensure such an advantage.

On the other hand, the direct rejection of that law, and a general notification of its being so rejected, would have the opposite, therefore the most happy, effect. The satisfaction would extend to every individual of the class I refer to: it would inspire confidence as much as attachment. They would feel that the English throne was still the refuge of oppressed innocence and the bulwark of religious liberty; and with this feeling their zeal and fortitude would rise to as high a pitch and be supported on as firm a ground as human nature can arrive to.

Your Lordship is not to suppose that I have been speaking merely of sectaries. No—the class I mean contains all the orthodox sectaries, but it contains many more—indeed, all who are remarkably devout in the Establishment as well as out of it, whether lay or clerical. In fact, there is no fixing the limit, and, I may add, no easy conception of the extent of the multitude alluded to. And let me say once more that I am not surer of their number than I am of the common sentiment which his Majesty's conduct will excite in them, on the wrong or the right side, as he shall be pleased to determine. I am sure I do not arrogate, when I seem to myself to know something of the class of people I am speaking of; and on that knowledge (growing out of the observation and acquaintance of many years) my present statements are founded. Your Lordship knows that I have been also accustomed to consider such matters in a *political* as well as moral light; and if ever I spoke from the strong impression of such a conjoint view, I do so now.

If any real inconveniences have arisen to the Jamaica planters—I mean, if any actual misconduct has occurred—*I pledge myself* to your Lordship to obtain honest information, and, I add, to have any prudential rules adhered to which may be thought advisable for preventing real annoyance.

The cruellest part of the whole is that which relates to preaching Negroes. Of such, I have reason to know, there have been very surprising and very interesting instances; and concerning whose motives, feelings, and conduct, no doubt could be entertained. Mr. Richard Wynne has often talked to me of a preaching Negro on his estate in the island of Tobago, whom, both from letters to his master and from authentic information, he regarded as one of the best of human beings. How many such may be among the Christian slaves! And what could be conceived more shocking than to deliver over such interesting praiseworthy creatures into the miscreant hands of their barbarous owners, to be lashed at their pleasure for no other crime than the exercise of the same zeal that led the first founders of our religion to hazard the loss of all things!

My dear Lord, take this matter into your serious thoughts. If you wish for more information, talk to Mr. Wilberforce. He knows *all* I am speaking of as well, and some parts of it far better than I; and, though he may be prejudiced against the slave trade, you will be able to discriminate between what is founded in reason and what arises from over-earnest zeal.

I hope you will not think I have taken too great a liberty with you in thus pressing a subject on your consideration. But I am sure you will not misconceive the motives of

Your ever, &c.,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and most Confidential. Dublin Castle, August 14, 1803.

My dear Lord—In answer to your Lordship's letter of the 9th, to that part of it I mean which inquires after our military means and preparations, I am grieved to have but a very unsatisfactory answer to send you.

On the 1st of this month, the state of our force was nearly as follows:—

Our INFANTRY OF THE LINE consisted of twenty-six regiments, including a battalion of Invalids, called a Garrison Battalion and the Queen's German Regiment.

These regiments furnished *on paper* 16,961 men only, being deficient of their complement, *on paper* 2,850, rank and file. The return of those present and fit for duty was only 13,930 rank and file.

Of these regiments five were in Dublin, two in Cork, two at Limerick, one at Naas, two at Kinsale, one at Armagh, one at Athlone, one at Wexford, two at Belfast, one at Waterford, one at Arklow, one at Clonmel, one at Londonderry, one at Newry, one at Enniskillen, one at Drogheda, one at Fermoy, and the Garrison Battalion at Cove.

Our CAVALRY, consisting of seven regiments, furnished on the same day *on paper* 3,298 men, being 1,175 short of the complement. The return of rank and file present and fit for duty was 2,755.

Of these regiments two were in Dublin, one at Longford, one at Belturbet, one at Limerick, one at Tullamore, one at Clonmel.

Our MILITIA, consisting of thirty-six regiments, furnished 17,339 on paper, being above 2,000 short of their complement. The return of those present and fit for duty was 15,100 rank and file.

Note—the recruiting of militia-men has totally ceased since the bounty for the line was increased. So that the whole force that can be put in motion on the appearance of an enemy amounts only to Regular Infantry 13,930, Cavalry 2,755, Militia 15,100, Total, 31,785. The Militia are dispersed over the whole country, in nearly the same proportion, and nearly on the same points, as the troops of the line.

There are no camps formed, and General Fox objects to forming any, on account of the climate, which he considers as particularly hostile to troops under canvass.

I have earnestly pressed the General to give in his plan for assembling the troops, because I am confident that, whenever it shall be delivered in, I can demonstrate, what, indeed, must appear on the plan itself, the impossibility of collecting 20,000 men, Militia included, on any point near the coast, in less than twelve days. More than 20,000 cannot be assembled anywhere, because 14,000 men will be wanted for reserves, garrisons, and service on points remote from the scene of action.

This force I admit to be sufficient to meet any force of the enemy that can be sent over in frigates or very small squadrons. But if they have anywhere the means of sending over from 15,000 to 25,000 men, supported by one or more small divisions directed to the most disaffected counties, I must consider it as wholly incompetent to our protection. I am ready to discuss this point whenever called upon to do so; with your Lordship I am sure it will be unnecessary.

Assistance from England would, I know, in that case be sent us, but, in the mean time, half the country would be lost, and the loss of territory, accompanied as it must be, more or less, by the loss of reputation would in this country be fatal to us.

You will probably ask me, Why, then, did you not increase our Militia, or take a parliamentary authority to increase it? To this I answer, *first*, that I thought the army of reserve an infinitely better measure, and that I doubted whether we could have accomplished both: *secondly*, that I am on principle decidedly adverse to increasing the Militia force in Ireland beyond its present strength. As it now is constituted in point of numbers, I think it tends to give us false, or, at least, doubtful notions of security which may mislead us.

Remember what passed at Castlebar, when you had a force sufficient to have crushed the French in an instant, had the Militia not deserted and betrayed you.

Who will venture to assure me that the same thing will not happen again? Is not the Militia composed in a great measure of United Irishmen; and are not the same attempts now making to seduce them from their allegiance in all parts of the country?

Look at the proportion they now bear to the regular troops, and consider, under the circumstances I have mentioned, whether that proportion is not already abundantly large?

With respect to our Yeomanry, we have now 63,000 on paper. We can increase them in two months to 80,000, perhaps 90,000. I do not think the country will bear more—I mean, that the loyal inhabitants capable of serving and willing to serve, and whose services may be at the same time usefully employed, will not amount to more.

I am not now without my fears that we are putting arms into the hands of improper persons; people are pressing forward that we know to be very suspicious, and unfortunately the determination not to receive Catholics into many corps has increased since the late insurrection, so that we must either reject the service of the loyal Catholics altogether, or create

Catholic corps—a measure that I must consider as unsafe, and which would be not *cried* but *roared* out against throughout all Ireland. Fortescue, the Member for Louth, waited on the Lord-Lieutenant the other day, to threaten him with impeachment if such a measure were attempted.

With respect to the Yeomanry, you also very well know that the system here is full of job, and that we cannot count on the numbers that we have on paper.

We have, however, done a great deal to correct the evil, and we carry to a *military account* none but those who are actually inspected in the field, of which number I think we have full 50,000, or shall have in the course of this week. It is also a misfortune that the very great majority of the Yeomanry are in the North, where we do not want them. There, in my opinion, we may trust the country in a great measure, though not entirely, in case of Southern invasion, to the Yeomanry. But I most dread invasion in the West, in which case the whole of the South and South-east and central part of Ireland would be in arms.

I write these things confidentially to you rather than to any other of the King's Ministers, because, in communicating this letter to Mr. Addington, which I will thank you to do, you can explain to him from your own local knowledge many points connected with it, which it would take time for me to put down upon paper.

My dear Lord, *an army must be assembled.* I have never ceased to speak on the subject since my arrival; but no measures that I can find are taken for that purpose. I have called for the plan adopted, or proposed to be adopted, for that purpose. I received it yesterday was a week from Colonel Anstruther. I observed that, on the FOURTEENTH DAY after landing of an enemy, 20,000 men could be assembled at Fermoy or Mallow, in case of a landing in the South. Will any one tell me that, if the enemy landed 10,000 men, either Fermoy or Mallow would be in our possession on the fourteenth day? I made this observation immediately. The plan was withdrawn on the same day, that it might be altered. Seven days are past, and it has not yet been returned to me.

I make no comment on all this, but that, with the enemy at our gates, *it will not do.*

Our present object is to make Dublin so secure that we may be able to detach all or nearly all our regular troops. But this is not to be done in a day. I think, however, it will be done in a month. But if, *in the mean time*, an enemy lands, I can answer for nothing.

The General has remonstrated against the increase of the Yeomanry. You will remember I told you in London that a similar remonstrance had been made to the Lord-Lieutenant, when we were increasing our Yeomanry force from 40,000 to 60,000 men, and that I had written in all haste to point out to the General, through Sir E. Littlehales, all the reasons that rendered the measure necessary, and to insist on its prompt execution.

I shall repeat these reasons now in an official letter in the Lord-Lieutenant's name, but it would be well that a hint should be given from home that this system is not adopted from a wish to give way to Irish feelings, but because it is the King's pleasure, and the measure of the British Government.

The other points in your letter shall all be attended to.

Ever, my dear Lord, your, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Redesdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to Lord Fingall.

My Lord—According to your Lordship's request, I have signed with great pleasure a warrant for your Lordship's appointment to be a Justice of the Peace for the county of Meath. At this moment, my Lord, it is particularly important that every person entrusted specially with the preservation of the public peace should know, and cautiously pursue, the strict line of his duty. Your Lordship's distinguished loyalty, at all times and on all occasions, leaves me no room to doubt that you will exert yourself to the best of your judgment for this important purpose, and the further distinguished loyalty has probably marked out your Lordship as one to whom nothing could safely be uttered tending to demonstrate any disposition towards the rebellious outrages which have of late produced such dreadful effects, and excited so much alarm. But, I fear there have been too many in whose presence and hearing demonstrations have been made, and words uttered, which ought to have alarmed the minds of loyal men, and induced them to communicate the reasons for that alarm to those in authority under the Government, and especially to the Justices of the Peace in their several districts ; but who have thought fit to retain the impression made in their minds within their own breasts, and to leave the chance of discovery to other means. The persons to whom I allude have principally been persons professing to hold the same religious faith with your Lordship, and over whom I most sincerely hope your Lordship's high character may give you that influence which justly belongs to it. It will be highly important, therefore, that your Lordship, in the discharge of your duty as a magistrate, should take every opportunity of clearly stating and most strongly inculcating and enforcing the great duty of allegiance, and that duty is not confined to forbearance from open rebellion, or even from acts tending towards rebellion, that true allegiance is an active duty, requiring every man, not only to suppress rebellion when it shall show itself in violence, but to disclose to that Government under which he lives, whether he be a natural-born subject of that Government, or a sojourner only under its protection, everything which can raise ground for suspicion of disloyalty in others. And it is particularly important that your Lordship should, as a magistrate, state and enforce that, persons knowing of a treasonable purpose, who do not disclose it, are guilty in the eye of the law of that crime which has been denominated misprision of Treason; and, if they yield any kind of assent to the intended treason, they become traitors themselves.

Your Lordship's enlarged and liberal mind, distinguishing clearly between spiritual and temporal concerns, must feel that there can be no duty of religion contrary to the duty of allegiance; and, indeed, no man, however ignorant or prejudiced, can read the Holy Scriptures without finding that the duty of allegiance to a Pagan Government was strongly and repeatedly enforced by Christ and his Apostles, and especially by the latter, who found the Christians of their time too much disposed to consider their faith in Christ as absolving them from their allegiance to the country in which they lived. I am truly sorry to say that I fear, in this country, all who profess to be ministers of the Gospel of Christ do not teach Christ's doctrine of allegiance to their flocks; and I particularly lament to find, in the minds of men who assume the highest rank amongst the ministers of the Roman persuasion, the frequent use of language tending to raise in the minds of the ignorant an opinion that none are to be considered as members of the Catholic Church of Christ, that none, therefore, are to be esteemed brethren in Christ, but those who profess adherence to the See of Rome. Until the minds of men shall be brought to a different temper; until the Priests of the Roman persuasion shall cease to inculcate to those under their instruction doctrines so repugnant to their temporal allegiance; until they shall cease to inculcate that all who differ from them in religious opinions are to be considered as guilty of defection from the See of Rome, that is as guilty of rebellion, including his Majesty's sacred person in that description; it cannot be expected that vulgar men should think themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to a King, thus presented to them as himself guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance. That liberty of conscience which those of the Roman persuasion desire for themselves they ought to allow to others; and they do not allow that liberty of conscience, but, on the contrary, sanction the worst of persecutions, wherever they treat any man, sincerely believing in Christ the Redeemer of mankind, as not a member of the Catholic or Universal Church founded by Christ and his Apostles, because that man does not believe all that they believe of the See of Rome and of the doctrines taught by it. I can consider no man, whatever his profession of loyalty may be, as truly the loyal subject of a King whom he thus holds up to his people as an object of disaffection, nay, of hatred, because that King holds a different opinion in matters of religion from those who adhere to the See of Rome, and because he refuses any obedience in matters temporal or spiritual to that See.

It will be your duty, my Lord, as a Justice of the Peace, to watch the preservation of the peace with the most anxious attention; to respect no man whose conduct shall tend to disturb it; to exhort all men, by patience and forbearance, as well as by exertion, to use their utmost endeavours to preserve it; and, however anxiously they may wish for a change in the establishment, provided by the law of the land for the maintenance of religion, however conscientiously they may think that the ends of religion would be better answered by putting those of the Roman persuasion in the place of those of the Protestant faith, they cannot consistently with the duties of their allegiance pursue that purpose by abetting, or even declining to resist and suppress, the rebellious conspiracy formed for that purpose. I have no doubt that the firm and distinguished loyalty which has marked your Lordship's character in every other situation in life, will guide your steps in the discharge of your duties of a magistrate. May God, to whom alone all our errors and imperfections are known, protect and guard you, and lead you to that end, which will most accord with the beneficial purpose for which the office of a magistrate was intended, and for which alone I am persuaded you prevail upon yourself to undertake so arduous a charge under circumstances of so much difficulty!

I have the honour to be, &c.,

REDESDALE.

Lord Fingall to Lord Redesdale.

Great Denmark Street, August 19, 1803.

My Lord—I have the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, and am much obliged to you for appointing me a magistrate for the county of Meath at a time when the task is so arduous. I must beg leave to assure your Lordship that nothing but my most anxious desire to be useful by every means in my power would have induced me to solicit the commission of the peace. Permit me to return your Lordship my best thanks for the very able and excellent instruction contained in your letter: it shall be my unceasing endeavour to prove myself not unworthy the post of trust confided to me, for which I should feel myself very ill qualified if I did not understand the duties of active loyalty to be exactly such as they are laid down by your Lordship. I have always been taught that a man was a traitor who violated his allegiance, who concealed any plot against the State. To this opinion all those who profess the same religious faith that I do are bound by the most solemn pledges. I am very sorry any have deviated from it; they cannot be, I am persuaded, those remarkable for their religious and good conduct.

It gives me much concern, and I should be extremely sorry if it were generally conceived, that your Lordship, the person to whom the Catholics of another part of the united kingdom never cease expressing their obligations, with your superior talents, enlightened and liberal mind, holding the high situation you do in this country, with so much credit to yourself and advantage to the public, should have an opinion in any degree unfavourable to the Irish Catholics. My Lord, the Catholic Religion is the same everywhere. I very reluctantly enter on the subject. Religious disputes I have always considered the greatest misfortune any country could experience. I must, however, beg leave to state to your Lordship what I have always found to be the conduct and faith of the Catholic. I need not speak of his attachment to and respect for an Oath: were he less delicate, why should he labour under any exclusion now, or have suffered many years of penal restriction?

I must say I never heard a Catholic wish for the overthrow of the Protestant Establishment, and setting up in its place one of his own Religion. This was not, as is well ascertained, the object of the promoters of the Rebellion in 1798, nor do I believe it was of the ruffians and murderers who disgraced this country on a late occasion. The Catholic is ready at this moment to sacrifice his life, his property, everything dear to him, in support of the Protestant Constitution, in defence of that beloved Sovereign, to whom your Lordship does not seem to think we look up with that veneration, gratitude, and attachment I assure you we do. The Catholic wishes to be admitted, whenever it shall be deemed expedient, to a full share in the benefits and blessings of that happy constitution under which we live; a participation which, I trust, we have and shall continue to prove ourselves not undeserving of. Catholic loyalty and allegiance, I need not tell your Lordship, would oblige every one of that persuasion to resist and repel even the head of the See of Rome, were it possible to suppose that the usurper, who now disturbs the peace of the world, could send him here with his invading armies. My Lord, the doctrine of allegiance is perfectly understood and unceasingly preached by the Catholic Clergy. I have just seen an address in the newspaper from Dr. Coppinger to his flock at Cloyne, in which Catholic principles and allegiance are much more ably and fully explained and inculcated than I could attempt doing. The late exhortation of Dr. Troy in Dublin, your Lordship has probably seen, and his character for distinguished loyalty is known to every one. In the year 1796, when Hoche's fleet was in Bantry Bay, the Rev. Dr. Moylan published an address to his people, for which, had the French landed, he would undoubtedly have lost his head.

Surely, my Lord, solemn pledges and distinguished acts of loyalty are the best proofs that can be given; and, I have, my Lord, taken the liberty of stating to your Lordship what I consider Catholic principles and Catholic conduct. Standing in the situation I do, I feel it my duty to vindicate the Catholics from any unfavourable opinion entertained; that your Lordship should know and properly appreciate their sentiments and conduct is my only aim, and would, I am sure, be highly gratifying to them.

I beg pardon for trespassing so long on your Lordship, but, when there is a question of the conduct and opinions of so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects, at the time that every arm is wanting to defend the Empire, you will, I trust, excuse me. I think I could not give your Lordship a better proof that I shall endeavour to merit the good opinion you are so kind as to entertain of me, and which, I hope, I shall never forfeit. I am, &c.,

FINGALL.

Lord Redesdale to Lord Fingall.

My Lord—Many parts of your Lordship's letter have given me much pain. I have no doubt that your Lordship has every feeling of Christian charity towards those who differ from you in religious opinions. But I have daily experience that the same charity does not prevail amongst a great many who profess to be of the same religious persuasion with your Lordship. I am fully persuaded that the want of true Christian charity, one towards the other, has been the real cause of all the unfortunate events which of late disgraced this country, and I think it the duty of every man, however he may differ in points of faith from others, to endeavour to impress the great doctrine of Christian charity on the minds of all, as the only means of restoring peace to this distracted country. Your Lordship seems to imagine that those inhabitants of Ireland who adhere in matters of faith to the doctrines of the See of Rome, are disposed to discontent, because (as your Lordship is pleased to express yourself), they are not admitted to a full share of the benefits and blessings of the happy constitution under which they live. If your Lordship means that they were discontented, because they are not admitted to be members of either house of Parliament, or to hold certain great offices, or, because they are excluded from the throne, I must confess, I cannot believe that the lower orders of the people of Ireland, amongst whom the ferment principally prevails, have any anxiety on the subject, except as it may be raised in their minds by others; and your Lordship must allow that no disturbances of the same description are excited amongst the Quakers, who certainly are subject to more disabilities for conscience sake, than those of which your Lordship complains. I am afraid, or rather, I am persuaded, that the difference arises from the different temper given to their minds by their religious instructors; that the Quaker is taught to live in charity with all men; whilst those who follow the See of Rome are unfortunately taught a very confined charity, being told they are exclusively members of the Church of Christ; and those whose minds have not been enlarged by education or habit feel it difficult to conceive how those whom they are taught to consider as not members of the Church of Christ can be deemed Christians: and, accordingly, your Lordship will find upon inquiry, that the appellation of "Heathen" is applied by them to every Protestant. If those who are considered as holding a higher rank in the priesthood used their influence to correct this impression on the minds of the lower orders, we might hope that, by degrees, they might be taught to consider all who believe in Christ as their Redeemer, though not adhering to the See of Rome, as their brethren in Christ.

But, unfortunately, that is not the case. Dr. Troy, in his pastoral instruction on the duties of Christian citizens, published in 1793, holds up high the exclusive doctrine which those who think humility a Christian virtue in all respects most becoming so weak and fallible a creature as man cannot but consider as savouring of presumption.

Dr. Hussey, in his pastoral letter, published in 1797, expressed himself in a stronger language, and, indeed, it is difficult for a loyal subject to read that publication without feeling that, especially at the time of its appearance, it could not tend to produce *loyalty* or even *submission* to the Government of the country in the minds of those to whom it was addressed. Whilst such impressions so excited are rankling in the minds of men, very little regard can be paid to addresses of the nature to which your Lordship refers me. They are given to the winds, as long as the Priests of the See of Rome shall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that See are guilty of rebellion against it, are not to be considered as members of the Church of Christ, and, therefore, are not (in the eyes of the vulgar, at least) to be considered as Christians. I am fully persuaded that those who listen to their doctrines will never bear Christian charity towards those whom they hear so represented, and will never be loyal and dutiful subjects of a King thus held out to them as himself a rebel. In fine, my Lord, those who clamour for liberty of conscience (which, in truth, they have), must be taught to allow liberty of conscience to others; and those who desire complete participation must treat those with whom they desire to participate as brothers. Until, therefore, the Priests of the Romish persuasion shall think it their duty to preach (honestly and conscientiously) the great doctrine of universal *charity* in *Christ;* until they shall, in all their instructions to those under their care, represent (honestly and conscientiously) all who sincerely believe in Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, to be *brethren* in *Christ*, however mistaken they may suppose any of them to be in certain points of faith; until they shall teach their flocks that, desiring liberty to think for themselves, they ought also to permit others to think for themselves, and not to murder them because they differ in religious opinion, peace never can be established in this land, and the loyal addresses of Dr. Troy and Dr. Coppinger will, as I have before said, be given to the winds: they have no effect, they may indeed reach the eyes or the ears, but never will enter the hearts of those to whom they are addressed. There are parts of your letter to which I will not advert, because I cannot without pain, or without giving pain.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

REDESDALE.

Lord Fingall to Lord Redesdale.

My Lord—I feel indeed much concern that any part of the letter I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship should have given you pain. You need not, I hope, my Lord, any assurance that nothing could have been more foreign to my intentions. This I took the liberty of requesting Mr. Wickham, whom I had the honour of seeing this morning, to do me the favour of mentioning to your Lordship on the earliest occasion. I merely stated to your Lordship what my own feelings were, and what I have always found to be the opinion of the Catholics. I do not apprehend that, in expressing any further wish of the Catholic body, which it is impossible should not be entertained, I hinted at any discontents; on the contrary, I did assure, and do now assure, your Lordship we are ready to make every sacrifice, encounter every danger, for the King and Constitution, and the preservation of its peace. Those who are most affected by any remaining restrictions, it is well known, have never excited clamour or tumult, but always been foremost in opposing them. I cannot attempt to vindicate all those who have at different times addressed the Catholics; but the late exhortations, I must beg leave to say, are intended and calculated to inspire sentiments of loyalty, obedience, and Christian charity, and they will, I trust, have that effect. Such have been the instructions I have constantly heard given by the Catholic clergy to their flocks; nothing to excite ill-will or dislike to any person on account of his religious belief, but the most perfect brotherly love and affection to all. Your Lordship will, I hope, allow me to repeat my regret that anything that I have written should have given you pain, or me reason to feel it, which I should in a very high degree indeed, if I was conscious of having intentionally advanced anything that could appear improper or unreasonable to your Lordship. I have the honour to be, &c.,

FINGALL.

Lord Redesdale to Lord Fingall.

Dublin, Ely Place, August 28, 1803.

My Lord—The high respect and esteem I bear for your Lordship, whose loyalty and humanity have been at all times conspicuous, and the manner in which your Lordship, in the letter with which I was honoured yesterday, has expressed your regrets that any part of your former letter should have given me pain, compel me again to trouble your Lordship with a few words. The pain I felt arose from an apprehension that I could not hope for such a change in the sentiments of those of the people of Ireland who adhere to the See of Rome, towards those who refuse obedience to it, as might lead to their living together in peace. In some parts of Europe, misfortune appears to have produced so much of humility, that the persons who have occupied the chair of that See have been inclined to bend towards countries, in which some of its most important pretensions have been rejected; and, in this state of humiliation, it might have been hoped that a sense of the weakness and imperfection of man might have been so far felt, as to lead the adherents to that See in Ireland no longer to teach their followers a doctrine so repugnant (as it appears to me,) to the repose of mankind as that to which I had alluded in my letter. I conclude, from your Lordship's letter to me, that there is no person amongst the adherents of the See of Rome in Ireland, whose mind, however cultivated, however liberal, in other respects, can be taught to consider any persons as Christians who refuse obedience to that See. I conclude also, that the priests of that persuasion still teach their flocks that all who refuse that obedience are guilty of a wicked rebellion against Divine authority, which must produce their eternal damnation in the next world, and which renders them objects of horror and dislike in this. As long as this doctrine (which, with all humility, I say it, appears to me to be repugnant to every idea of Christian charity taught by the Scriptures,) shall be preached to their congregations; and, until those congregations shall be taught that Protestants of every description, although in their opinion in error in certain points, are to be considered as members of the Church of Christ, and their brethren in the faith of Christ, it seems to me that there can be no hope that exhortations to loyalty and obedience to the Protestant Government will have any effect. Men of education and property may feel loyalty and obedience to such a government to be proper, or at least expedient; but preaching to men of the lower orders, and especially to those without property, loyalty and obedience under such circumstances cannot be sincere, without supposing their minds capable of a refinement of which they are utterly incapable, and seem, therefore, to me, to be either mockery or folly, and perhaps I am too presumptuous in forming this opinion, but it seems to me confirmed by recent events; and I cannot otherwise account for the fact so generally asserted by the priests of the Romish persuasion that, during the late rebellion, their exhortations to loyalty and obedience had no effect. I find it also confirmed by the circumstances that those priests were, I presume, utterly ignorant that those under their instruction had ever conceived in their minds the horrid purposes which they manifested on the 23d of July,[1] and which persons came from all parts of Ireland with a deliberate design to effect.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

REDESDALE.

Lord Fingall to Lord Redesdale.

Great Denmark Street, September 1, 1803.

My Lord—I must beg your Lordship will be kind enough to excuse my not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of the last letter you did me the honour to address to me, which has been occasioned by my absence from town for some days past. Honoured as I must feel by your Lordship's correspondence, and the expressions of personal regard towards me contained in your letter, I am the more anxious to impress your Lordship with that favourable opinion of the persons in this country who profess the same religious faith that I do myself, which it has been my endeavour to prove to your Lordship they are deserving of. Nothing but my wish to procure for them an object so desirable, and my high respect for your Lordship, would have induced me to touch at all on a discussion of religious subjects; and not having been, I fear, fortunate enough yet to satisfy your Lordship's mind as to the objections you make to our religion, I should be glad, with your Lordship's permission, to state them to some of our superior clergy, who would, I am pretty certain, enable me to convince your Lordship that our religious doctrines preach charity and brotherly love to *all* mankind, without distinction of religion, true and sincere allegiance to our good King, inviolable attachment to the Constitution and our country, from an honest and conscientious conviction that such is the dut of a good subject and a good Catholic, be the religion of th monarch what it may. For my own part, my Lord, I ca not attribute the unfortunate situation of this country to anything connected with matters of religious faith. Jacobinism, and French principles and politics, the want of morality, and the depraved state of the human mind, are, I conceive, the sources of our misfortunes. Religion may have been made a tool by wicked and designing people: this has often happened in every country, and is easily effected where religious difference exists.

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[1] The insurrection in Dublin, headed by Robert Emmett.

The distracted and melancholy state we are in everybody must lament; how it is to be mended is a matter for the statesman; and surely it would be difficult to find an object more worthy of your Lordship's high talents and abilities.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

FINGALL.

Lord Redesdale to Lord Fingall.

Ely Place, September 6, 1803.

My Lord—I feel myself as little qualified as your Lordship represents yourself to be to discuss with the persons to whom you refer me the points you mention. I can only say that the impression made on the minds of those of the lower orders certainly does not correspond with the doctrines which your Lordship represents to be the doctrines of the religion you profess. I have no doubt that your Lordship heartily and conscientiously embraces and acts upon those doctrines. The whole tenour of your life shows that you have done so. But the whole tenour of the conduct of the lower orders of the people of the Romish persuasion shows that such doctrines are not effectually taught to them; and, if I am to judge from the writings as well as the conduct of some of the higher orders of the laity, as well as of the clergy, I cannot believe that they are thoroughly impressed with the feelings which appear to guide your Lordship's liberal and beneficent mind. On the contrary, in many instances, it appears to me that the conduct of some, high amongst the priesthood, is calculated to excite in the minds of those under their care hatred of their Protestant fellow-subjects, and disloyalty to their Government. I am assured, from very high and very respectable authority, that (at least, in one district) the Priests who were instrumental in saving the lives of loyalists in the late rebellion are universally discountenanced by their superior, and that a Priest, proved to have been guilty of sanctioning the murders in 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of Government, has been brought back in triumph by the same superior to what, in defiance of the law, he called *his parish*, and there placed as a martyr in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, to the justice of the country, and to that Government to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to his crimes.[1] It is strongly reported that the successor to Dr. Hussey (whose disaffection was so manifest, that perhaps Government consulted its disposition to lenity much more than its duty, when it permitted him to return to Ireland), is a man also notoriously disaffected. If this appointment is to be made in the usual manner, at the recommendation of the higher order of your clergy, I cannot think that much of loyalty is to be expected from those who recommend such a man.

If the authority of the See of Rome supersedes the ordinary recommendation, it must be recollected that that authority is now in the hands of France. Indeed, it cannot be forgotten that your whole priesthood acknowledged obedience to one who is the vassal of France, who exists as a temporal Prince, at least, only by the permission of France, and who acts under the orders of France, the avowed enemy of the Government under which we live. Under such circumstances, it cannot be believed that any honest and conscientious means have been or will be taken by the Priests of the Romish persuasion to make the lower orders of the people, composing their congregations, loyal subjects of the Protestant Government of this country.

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[1] His Lordship here alludes to the case of Peter O'Neill.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
REDESDALE.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE INSURRECTION IN DUBLIN, ON THE NIGHT OF JULY 23, 1803.

Account of the Explosion in Patrick Street, on July 16.

The explosion in Patrick Street, on July 16, was not sufficiently loud to occasion a very general observation of it; and it appears that even the windows of the room where it took place were not broken by it. To prevent suffocation, the persons inside broke the glass, and Keenan, who is since dead, cut himself so deeply by running his arm through a pane, that the effusion of blood principally occasioned his death. The danger of fire was what chiefly excited notice, and a fire-engine was sent for. On its arrival, the persons in the house refused to admit it, and turned away the men who belonged to it; and it was the complaint of these men to a peace officer which first excited suspicion of some improper proceedings in the house.

Two men were wounded, one of them, Keenan, so badly, that he died very soon, and gave no account of how the accident happened. The other, Byrne, a labouring man, was taken into custody. The peace officer made a search in the house, and found saltpetre and other ingredients for making gunpowder, a machine for bruising saltpetre, about a hundred ball cartridges, and some pounds weight of bullets, several short poles, about three feet long, the use of which was not known (they were for jointed pikes), three bayonets, not any pike-heads, nor any firearms.

Enough was discovered to excite considerable suspicion; the house was known to belong to Mackintosh, and search was immediately made for him, but he could not be found. Byrne was taken to the Superintendent Magistrate's office, and closely examined. He protested that he had only worked as a common labourer, carrying mortar to build up a wall, and that he had been employed there only from the day preceding.

It appeared to me to be an object of considerable importance to get information from this man, and therefore, instead of sending him to the gaol or a common infirmary, I had him put under the particular care of Surgeon Henthorn, with particular injunctions as to his being kept separate, and the surgeon was enjoined to pay him the strictest attention, and, if possible, to get a discovery from him. The surgeon, as well as a peace officer, had several conversations with him, if possible, to learn further particulars: but he never deviated from his first story, which there is now reason to think was true.

On the day after the explosion, a report was made by two of the watch, that, on the preceding night, they had followed two men carrying a cask; that, on being asked by the watch where they were going, they answered, "Come along with us, and you shall see;" that they rested the cask on the window of the house of a man of the name of Palmer, who lives at the corner of the Coombe and New Street, who opened the door of his house on a private signal being given, and, seeing the watchmen along with the men who had charge of the cask, he shut his door, and walked out of the street.

The cask fell down, and, some ball cartridges and flints falling out of it, the two men ran away, and left it in the possession of the watchmen, who, after carrying it some way towards their watch-house, were stopped by a party of men, some having arms, who rescued it from them. The watchmen were joined by others, and assistance was demanded from the guard-house at the Coombe; but, as only three soldiers were there, none of them would quit their post, and the party escaped.

The watchmen deposed this on oath, and I sent for one of them, and examined him minutely as to all the circumstances, which were as above stated. I sent the Superintendent Magistrate himself and other persons into the neighbourhood of where this happened, and particularly to ascertain from what quarter the men came who took the cask from the watchmen. They were said to have come from one of the small lanes in which that neighbourhood abounds; and I repeatedly expressed my intention, if that lane should prove not to be a thorough passage, to have all the male inhabitants of it taken up and sent on board the tender. This intention I repeatedly signified to the Superintendent Magistrate, and others. The searches made, however, did not sufficiently ascertain this, and the lane was a thoroughfare.

I had Palmer taken into custody and examined. He answered, that there was nothing strange in his being up at an early hour of a summer's morning; that he knew nothing of the cask, or the parties carrying it; and that he did not receive it into his house. Although I was convinced that he was privy to its contents, I thought it best to liberate him, as I was certain he would have got a judge to discharge him in the course of the day, and that his being liberated in this way would expose our want of powers, and be matter of triumph to the disaffected. It may be urged that a general search for arms should at that time have been made, and that suspected persons should have been apprehended. The alarm attending such a proceeding would have been exceedingly great, and the event might not have justified such a very strong measure.

The apprehending suspected persons would have been to no purpose, as the Habeas Corpus Act was not at that time suspended. A further search was made in the house in Patrick Street by Major Sirr—a few more ball-cartridges were found. Inquiry was made as to the smallness of the guard on the Coombe, and it was answered that it was a barrack, and not a guard, and that, therefore, there were not necessarily a greater number of men there than was sufficient for the protection of the house.

Nothing more could be learned, but all these circumstances added to the suspicions which were entertained in the course of the week of the preparations of the disaffected being in forwardness. There is also every reason to think that the discovery made accelerated considerably the period of the rising, and brought matters to that state which rendered it so highly probable that an attempt would be made on the night of July 23.

August 25, 1803. A. M.[1]

Extract from a Statement made to the Lord-Lieutenant in the month of August last, respecting the transactions which took place in Dublin on July 23, 1803.

However uncertain it had been, during some days preceding Saturday, July 23, that a rising was to take place on that day (in a paper already delivered to your Excellency, I have stated the causes of this uncertainty), yet, on the morning of that day, the information received left no longer any doubt of what was intended.

On coming to the Castle, at some time between half-past eleven and twelve o'clock on that day, I received several communications, some of them secret, others from persons who had come to some knowledge of the intentions, and, in some instances, of the actual movements of the disaffected, which made it manifest that the peace of the city must be very seriously disturbed in the course of the ensuing night. Although I conceived it to be of the utmost importance to avoid spreading an alarm until it was certain that danger existed, the only consideration now was by what means the attempt, hitherto so improbable but now so imminent, was to be defeated; and as the civil power, at no time very efficient in Dublin, was for this purpose wholly inadequate, I thought it my principal duty, after apprising your Excellency of the probable danger, to take care that the garrison of Dublin, consisting of near 3000 men, should be informed that their services might be required in the course of the night.

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[1] This and the two following papers, it is to be presumed from the signature, were written by Mr. Alexander Marsden, who possessed all the Government sources of information on the subject. The Notes attached to them form part of the MSS.

The commander of the forces, I knew, was to be with your Excellency, by appointment, on other business, in the Phœnix Park at two o'clock on that day, and at the same time that I wrote to your Excellency, informing you of the apprehensions which I entertained, I recommended to you to bring General Fox to the Castle in your Excellency's carriage, stating, at the same time, "that I made this request upon no light grounds." At the same time, I wrote also to Major-General Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded in the district of Dublin, requesting him to call upon me at the Castle.

I understand that General Fox reached the Phœnix Park at half-past two o'clock, and that your Excellency, on receiving my note, immediately ordered your carriage, and, leaving your Aide-de-Camp behind, brought the General to the Castle at between three and four o'clock, soon after which I waited upon your Excellency in your closet; General Fox only being present. At this interview, I could not pronounce that the danger was absolutely certain, nor did I apprehend that any attempt could be made which would not readily be defeated. I therefore thought it best to state the particulars of the information which I had received, especially as General Fox had returned from the country but a day or two before (much of which had from time to time been communicated to your Excellency), submitting to the judgment of the persons whom I addressed the probable result, and, at the same time, showing it to be my opinion that a rising that night was much to be apprehended. Taking this line, I could not fail to enumerate several of those communications which had made the most impression on me; and, as the information I had received that morning more particularly engaged my mind, I could not have omitted mentioning nearly the whole of it.

Among other things, I recollect having stated that a person in the north of Ireland, who formerly gave me information, had, by letter, assured me that Dublin and Belfast were to be attacked at the same time on the Saturday or Sunday following; and also that a gentleman,[1] who had come from the North, imformed me he had heard the same thing. To the first, I did not attach implicit credit, for reasons which I then explained; and Mr. Atkinson had his intelligence two or three degrees removed. I mentioned, however, that a person who was in the secrets of the disaffected, and with whom I frequently communicated, had come to me very soon after I reached the Castle that morning, in much alarm, and assured me that the danger was imminent. I had also been informed by a magistrate[2] that a Priest had given him similar intelligence. I remember having stated what Mr. Clarke,[3] of Palmerstown, who employed some hundred men in his cotton manufactory, had communicated, respecting the riotous disposition of his men, and their determination to quit his work and to march into Dublin that day, having previously, in the morning, at an unusual hour, insisted on being paid their wages.

To impede this attempt, I urged the necessity of strengthening the post at Chapelizod,[4] a village which lay between Palmerstown and Dublin. In this, General Fox concurred, and orders, it appeared, were given to have it done. The state of the Pigeon House was also talked of. It was known to General Fox that the garrison of Naas had been under arms the night before, from an apprehension of being attacked by the townspeople, who had quitted the place. These, I was informed by others as well as by Colonel Wolfe and Mr. Aylmer, had come, some into and others towards Dublin. The latter gentleman had left Naas at eight o'clock in the morning; the town was then deserted by its inhabitants. As he came to

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[1] Mr. Atkinson.

[2] Alderman Manders.

[3] See Mr. Clarke's examination on the trial of Donelly and Farrell.

[4] The party left the barracks at eight o'clock.

Dublin, he had not seen any men, but had met many women going from thence. The fact was beyond question, and so I stated it to be, that an extraordinary number of people had come into town. This circumstance scarcely left a decision with the leaders, who, I think I mentioned, were at that time divided in their councils, whether or not an attempt should be made.[1]

Your Excellency and General Fox paid every attention to this statement, occasionally making observations upon it. It was impossible to represent the extent of the disturbance, which it was supposed would take place. No apprehension was entertained of any degree of success of the insurgents, on account of the several military posts stationed in the city, and from the strength of the Castle guard and its vicinity to the barracks in Parliament Street, where the 62nd Regiment was stationed. It could not be imagined that the Castle or the public offices in its neighbourhood were to be attacked. The impression which it was meant to convey to General Fox was, that disturbances would, in all probability, take place, and particularly on the side of the avenues which led from Naas and Palmerstown; and I either directly stated, or by direct implication, that the exertions of the military would be necessary.

Between four and five o'clock, General Fox left your Excellency and me together, observing, among other things which I do not now recollect, that he had much satisfaction in thinking that so good an officer as Colonel Vassall was Field Officer of the day, upon whose coolness and discretion he could place the greatest reliance.

Sir Charles Asgill, to whom I had written at the same time that I wrote to your Excellency, called upon me at the Castle soon after six o'clock, and made an excuse for not coming sooner. He was aware of the business upon which I wished to see him. Sir Charles remained with me till about seven o'clock. I stated to him, but not in detail, the danger which was apprehended in a degree more strongly than I had done to the Commander of the Forces, as later accounts had put it out of doubt that a riot must happen. While Sir Charles remained with me, fresh accounts came in, and Major Swan and Colonel Finlay were some time in the room, communicating new facts or observations.

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[1] It is now known that it was only on the night of July 22 the rising was determined upon, and that at two o'clock on the 23rd, the Kildare leaders declined to act, and left the city.

Colonel Finlay had applied for an escort to take him to his house, which lay on the road to Naas,[1] and had come from the Royal Hospital, where he had delivered a letter from me, requesting that a party might be furnished to him. Having occasion to return into town, he called at the Castle, to mention his having succeeded in procuring the order for it, and also for the protection of the Powder Mills at Clondalkin. Sir Charles left me to go to the Royal Hospital,[2] to the Commander of the Forces.

Soon after this the alarm increased, and several Magistrates and Captains of Yeomanry came to the Castle, desiring to be informed how they were to act. It was thought prudent to restrain the Yeomen from assembling[3] their men, and by their so doing increasing the alarm, as well because it was known that few of the Yeomen had arms and none of them ammunition, (no general delivery having been made to the corps) as because it was conceived that the troops in the barracks of Dublin and at the several posts had received orders to hold themselves in readiness, and were probably at the instant engaged. And as it was known that the Garrison of Dublin consisted of about 3000 men,[4] they were considered to be fully equal to preserving the peace and certainly the security of the town, however great the anxiety might have been that they should act with complete effect on the first intelligence of the assembling of the mob.

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[1] And also for the protection of the Powder Mills at Clondalkin.

[2] He did not however reach the Hospital until after nine o'clock.

[3] See Captain King's letter.

[4] Between three and four thousand.

Several accounts reached the Castle of the number of the mob increasing in Thomas Street and James's Street. A Magistrate,[1] who had left the Castle a short time before it grew dark, returned, he having been fired at and wounded, near the Queen's Bridge. Not long after this it was reported that Lord Kilwarden and his Nephew had been killed,[2] at a quarter before ten, and likewise Colonel Browne of the 21st Regiment. At later periods, accounts came of Yeomen being killed, and also a Dragoon having been piked. During this time extreme anxiety was felt at the Castle, to hear of the march of the troops of the Garrison to that part of the town where the riot existed. Notes were sent from the Castle to the barracks, urging, in the most earnest manner, that parties should be sent into the streets; and the consternation increased among the magistrates and gentlemen, who crowded to the Castle, as no assurance could be given that the troops had actually quitted the barracks. At this moment, the uncertainty of the extent of the danger became very great; and the letters written during that interval must have expressed it to be so. For the actual safety of the Castle no apprehension of danger was entertained. Early in the evening, the usual guard, sufficiently strong, was reinforced by thirty men, which Major Donnellan, of the 2nd Regiment, brought from that regiment, consisting of about 600 men quartered at the Old Custom House, within two hundred yards of the Castle. Two pieces of cannon were got to the gates, and the Yeomanry, beginning to assemble, came to the Castle for ammunition and arms. The quantity there was however inconsiderable, and that any was there was contrary to the orders of the officer who has the charge of it, and who is only accountable to the Master-General and Board of Ordnance. An escort of Yeomanry was therefore sent to the Magazine in the Phœnix Park, for a supply.[1]

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[1] Mr. Clarke.

[2] See note.

One of the first concerns felt was for your Excellency and your family, who were in the Park, as the ordinary guard stationed for the protection of the Lodge was by no means sufficient for your safety. A request was sent, both to the Royal Hospital and the barracks, that a reinforcement might be despatched to your Excellency's Lodge, which was immediately done.

At about eleven o'clock, an account was brought to the Castle that a firing had commenced. This was from a party of the 21st Regiment belonging to the Barracks in Cork Street, which had been sent to escort an officer of the regiment from his lodgings to the barracks.[2] This party fell in with the mob in Thomas Street, and, firing upon them, as afterwards proved to be the case, routed them from thence.

At eleven, they were again fired upon by a party belonging to the guard on the Coombe, in which direction the mob had fled after quitting Thomas Street; and they did not any where afterwards appear in a body throughout the night.

While the mob remained in force in the street, it was hoped at every moment that an account would arrive of the army having marched from the barracks. Between nine and twelve o'clock, several letters and notes were addressed to Sir Charles Asgill and the officer commanding at the barracks, both by Sir E. Littlehales and myself, urging, in the most earnest manner, that the troops should be sent into the streets. A note from Sir Charles Asgill, dated half-past one o'clock,[1] gave the first intimation that they had done so. Two hours before that, the mob had been finally routed.

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[1] Repeated messages were sent to the officers of the Ordnance, and orders given, about the time it grew dark, to break open the stores, as the keys could not be found. When Captain Godfrey came, he informed me that he would open the stores, but that there was not any ammunition in them. He afterwards returned, and said he had found a small quantity, which remained there contrary to orders.

[2] See Lieutenant Brady's examination on the trial of Byrne, from which it appears that at ten o'clock at night no orders had been sent to the barracks in Cork Street, which lay close to Thomas Street. See also the examination of Colonel Vassal, in the trial of Emmett.

The Army and the Yeomen patrolled during the rest of the night, and, after clearing the streets, searched suspected places, and discovered many persons who had been concerned in the violent scenes of the night, as well as concealed pikes and other weapons. The principal depôt of arms in Bridgefoot Street had been discovered before, about the time that Colonel Browne was killed, nearly opposite to it, as he walked, attended only by his servant, towards his barracks. It was not till about one o'clock that Lord Kilwarden's body was known to have been found, nor for a considerable time after that of his nephew, Mr. Wolfe.

At daylight, it could not be discovered that those who composed the mob had anywhere retired in a body, and it has since appeared that they concealed themselves in the houses in Dublin, or retreated singly, or in small parties, to their respective houses in the country.

It is very doubtful whether those in arms exceeded 300. Great efforts were used by their leaders to rally them, but the numbers decreased as the night advanced; and, had not a false alarm[2] on that evening occasioned them to break forth when they did, it is supposed that the numbers at a later hour would have been still fewer.

The arms furnished from the depôt, and carried to the adjoining streets, seem to have constituted their whole resource. Pikes were the common weapons; there were no muskets,[3] and the leaders were armed with blunderbusses mostly purchased that very evening. The quantity of ammunition is nearly ascertained by the return of what was conveyed to the Royal Barracks. Five thousand pikes are also said to have been carried there, and it cannot be supposed that the residue could very much exceed the number of persons who armed themselves with them, and the whole cannot be estimated at more than 7000, if so many.[1]

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[1] The troops marched from the barracks at a much earlier hour.

[2] There was an alarm of the approach of the military, but it does not appear that the commencement of the attack was much accelerated by it.

[3] There were four muskets.

Of the insurgents it is supposed that about twenty-nine were killed—few of the wounded were found in Dublin, but, according to the usual proportion, they must have been considerable: Colonel Browne, of the 21st Regiment, was killed as he walked the streets; Cornet Cole, passing in a carriage from the Canal Harbour, was dragged out and badly wounded; two dragoons of the 16th Regiment, carrying expresses, were killed; and a private of the 21st, who was attacked by one of the pikemen, is since dead of his wounds.

The Yeomen could not assemble so as to make any attack in a body, and therefore were not engaged until the mob was routed; but most unfortunately Messrs. Edmonson and Parker, of the Liberty Rangers, were killed as they endeavoured to join a party of their friends, and three others were wounded. A. M.

General Statement of the matters relating to the Insurrection of the 23rd of July, 1803.

The investigation of the circumstances attending the Insurrection which lately took place in Dublin has led to a full disclosure of the original design of the parties engaged, and the principal facts which occurred on that occasion. From the nature of the attempt which was made, great uncertainty existed as to the extent of the danger, and that much misapprehension, and even misrepresentation, took place, was almost a natural consequence.

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[1] Emmett stated the total of the pikes to be 3000; Quigley asserts the same, including those sent to Smithfield, and Ringsend, and Redmonds, the only places to which pikes were sent.

It is now known that the design of the attempt, which was afterwards made in July last, was conceived in France about the middle of the last winter. Previous to that period, the probability of a war with England had made the Government of France turn their thoughts to an expedition to Ireland; but it is not material now to enter into the particulars of that plan, though furnishing much curious matter, as it was not advanced during the winter, nor does it appear in its circumstances to have been combined with the attempt which was afterwards made.

Encouraged, no doubt, by the French Government (who, as well as some of his associates, were probably unacquainted with the whole of his object) the sanguine disposition of the younger Emmett, who was last winter in Paris, led him to conceive a plan for effecting a Revolution in Ireland, separating it from England, and establishing an independent power in this country, capable of foreign relations, before the French should have their plans matured for an invasion and a conquest.

With this view, there is reason to think that he communicated with several of the exiled Irish then in France, and particularly with his brother, T. A. Emmett, and Macnevin.

The growing prosperity of Ireland, since the extinction of the Rebellion of 1798, might be supposed sufficient to have discouraged such an enterprise; and to those who actually knew the country it must have appeared hopeless, even with the aid of a considerable foreign force. There is reason to think that the ill-judged exaggerations of mail robberies, and particularly of the disorderly scenes which took place in the County of Limerick, were relied upon by Mr. Emmett as sufficient proofs of a revolutionary disposition ready to act, and generally pervading the country.

Many exiled Irish were then on the continent; but it appears that Mr. Emmett did not succeed in getting more than Russel and Quigley to engage in the expedition to Ireland. Russel was one of the prisoners who had been confined at Fort

George, and, although not a principal in the Rebellion of 1798, was of consequence enough at that time to be selected as one of the most dangerous, whom it was necessary to confine until the end of the war. He was a man of a particular and an enthusiastic turn of mind: connected with several persons in the North of Ireland by an early political alliance, and with some of them by a religious folly, he persuaded himself that he had influence enough to raise the Province of Ulster, or even a greater district.

Quigley was a man of mean condition, a bricklayer by trade, who had been confined with the State prisoners at Kilmainham gaol, and remained there until the end of the war; before which time all his fellow-prisoners, except five or six, had procured their enlargement on terms of transportation. Those who remained were considered to be of the most insignificant class; and, as they were obliged to leave the country on their enlargement from prison, it was scarcely thought worth observing what became of them. Quigley and two others went to Paris, where he worked at his trade as a bricklayer.

Russel engaged his nephew, a Mr. Hamilton, a man who, it now appears, had served in the French armies, to join him,[1] and measures were settled for the journey of the whole party to Ireland. Emmett and Russel reached Dublin early in the year. Hamilton gave Quigley and two others, his companions from Kilmainham, ten guineas each, to bear their expenses to Ireland. They proceeded as far as Rouen, where Quigley's two companions left him, and returned to Paris; he was, however, joined there by Hamilton, and they travelled together to Ireland, where they arrived early in the month of March.

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[1] Hamilton came over to England late in November, 1802, or early in December. He went from thence to Ireland, and returned to France in January, 1803. He went immediately to Brussels, to meet T. Emmett and Macnevin. Hamilton returned again to Ireland in March, 1803, in company with Quigley. Emmett arrived late in January, Quigley and Hamilton in March, Russel early in the month of April.

On their arrival in Dublin, they met Emmett, and the three together consulted on their future operations.

From that time it does not appear that they were joined by any others of the exiled Irish. Neither Emmett nor Hamilton were of this class, and they appeared here openly. The former was connected with a most respectable merchant in Dublin, who gave the strongest assurances of the proper demeanour of his relation.

The report of Russel's return attracted attention; and Quigley's having gone into the County of Kildare soon made his arrival public. Large rewards were offered for his apprehension, and repeated communications had with the gentlemen of the County on the means of having him taken. He remained but a few days in the country, and was afterwards secreted in the depôt, which he scarcely at any time left until the rising in July, and, when he did leave it, it was only by night.

Reports were circulated that rebels of 1798, of much greater consequence than those mentioned, had returned to the country. The elder Emmett, O'Connor, Macnevin, Lawless, and others, it was asserted, were here; it now appears that none of them were, and, had they been concerned, additional means would have existed of discovering the conspiracy which was then concerting, and which received its chief protection from the insignificancy of the parties engaged in it.

Mr. Emmett was a very young man; he had been expelled from the University of Dublin during the time of the Rebellion of 1798, for seditious practices: he fled from the country, and had not, until this year, returned. He conceived the design of providing arms for those whose assistance he relied upon; and, full of the opinion that the disposition to revolt was as strong amongst the lower orders of the people as in his own mind, he relied upon it that the whole would be effected, if he could secure a magazine from which, on a sudden, the mob might be armed. The scene of this exploit was fixed in

Dublin; and, although he held communication with parts of Ireland more distant, it does not appear that they were organized, or that he had made connections with more than a very few of the Rebels of 1798.

Having a mind much turned to military affairs, and being a student in chemistry, he prepared a system of tactics, and at the same time constructed machines, (certainly complex and ill adapted) in which gunpowder was wrought into its most pernicious forms; but he seems to have neglected the more obvious and certain modes of giving force to an effort which could alone be made by the rudest and most inexpert hands.

For the purpose of forming this magazine, a warehouse was taken in a yard, in an obscure lane, in a populous but unobserved quarter of the city. A carpenter in Emmett's confidence was the ostensible proprietor; and in this yard and warehouse were prepared the pikes and ammunition which were afterwards to be delivered to the mob. Quigley, on returning from Kildare, where he staid only a few days, concealed himself in this depôt, as it was termed, and was out of it only three or four times, until the insurrection broke out. But a very few were trusted with the secret of this depôt, (not more than eight persons) about one half of whom remained constantly in it, working with their own hands in constructing pikes, and preparing other implements for the intended Insurrection.

While the favourite object of constructing this depôt was thus forwarded by Emmett's zealous friends, he also made connections among the disaffected here, who were known to himself or to his brother on the former occasion. Soon after Lord Whitworth's return, in May, it was perceived that some cabal had commenced among men who were before suspected, and whose conduct soon attracted a stricter observation. One of this party held a direct communication with Government, and meetings and conversations were often reported, but they led to nothing material; no organization nor system was attempted; no persons who could be seized and detained by law could be discovered, and nothing but general expression of hopes, and an increased rumour of danger, could be learned. At the same time, the reports from the country, with the exception of Kildare, (and even from thence they were not bad) were of the most favourable kind; and, as far as it was possible to reason upon the apparent dispositions of the people, a revolt could not be considered as immediate, unless in the event of a successful attempt at invasion by the enemy.

It is manifest, however, that Emmett staked his whole game on the depôt, and trusted himself but little to any but those concerned in it, who were very few in number. He lived himself a few miles out of town, towards the mountains, where he occasionally saw his friends from Dublin, and communicated with others, who were in connection with the Rebel Dwyer, in the mountains. He occasionally came into town, and visited the depôt, but this happened very rarely, until the week preceding the Insurrection.

Another house was taken by a carpenter, where a few pike handles were made of a particular construction, and some combustible matter for rockets (and not gunpowder, as was at one time supposed); from hence such articles were conveyed to the grand depôt; and from other places it would seem that ammunition was also sent there through the medium of a hostler of an inn which adjoined the depôt, and who was admitted into their confidence. It is a matter much to be regretted, and almost complained of, that this depôt was not early discovered by the immediate agents of Government, or by the police. It can only be accounted for by the great secrecy with which it was conducted; that the persons admitted to it were closely attached to their leader or to his cause; that, living for the most part within side of it, they avoided observation, and that intercourse which, by the most accidental circumstances, leads to detection: but particularly Mr. Emmett had an advantage which few Conspirators are so fortunate as to possess—he had a command of money; his father died in December last, and left him a sum of about £2000. This money was paid to him in March, and there is reason to think that the whole was expended before the middle of July. He was thus his own treasurer: he trusted only those whom he preferred, and he was not obliged to sell his confidence to those who subscribed a £20 or a £50, as was the case in the former Rebellion.

In the interval between March and July, there is scarcely a trace of any correspondence with France, or any thing to show that France was much concerned in what was going on here.

Much was asserted as to the existence of such an intercourse in the months of June and July; but the proofs of it are inconsiderable. Had such a correspondence been carried on, it would probably have been detected before it reached this country: it was not discovered in it.

Although it is sufficiently certain that Mr. Emmett had made connections with some persons not in the lowest orders of life, of this, however, (with very few exceptions) no decided proof appears; and it has not been very easy to distinguish between those who, having been formerly partisans of a revolution in this country, still bore good will towards it, and those who were actually embarked in the visionary projects of Mr. Emmett. This branch of the subject cannot, however, here be fully entered upon, as the utmost extent of such connections is still to be ascertained.

In the counties of Ireland, with the exception of Kildare and Wicklow, it now appears that very few had been gained over by the Conspirators. In the North, it is evident that but little preparation was made. Russel distrusted many of his old friends, and did not apply to them. He soon discovered that, among the Protestants of the North, his plans met no encouragement; which made him resort to the Defenders, or Catholics, and his very limited success with them has been sufficiently exposed. According to Quigley's testimony, nothing had been done in Connaught. With the people of Wexford Emmett had had communications; he was offered support from but one Barony of that County, and he gave up the hope of a rising in that quarter. Both Emmett and Quigley concur in stating that Meath (a county by no means considered as secure) would not rise.

In the Midland Counties, and in Limerick and Cork, persons resided with whom Emmett communicated, and who were informed of the intended rising a few days before it took place. Little exertion, however, had been made to prepare for a rising in those places. These friends at a distance served as points of communication, while it would seem that the intermediate spaces had not been occupied. It was assumed, however, and positively not without sufficient reason, that, had the attack in Dublin succeeded, risings would have taken place in many other quarters.

To aid the attack in Dublin, it now appears that only Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford were relied upon. From the latter county Emmett supposed that 300 came in, but it does not appear in any way that such was the case. Dwyer, from Wicklow, was to have aided; but, by the mistake of a messenger, or more probably from doubts entertained by Dwyer of the success of the enterprise, no move took place in that quarter. From Kildare, many came into Dublin, as well as from the small towns which lay on that side of Dublin.

As Mr. Emmett's object was to effect a Revolution in Ireland, and to get possession of the country before the French should attempt an invasion, it was necessary for him to bring his projects speedily into action. An accident that happened in Patrick Street, which was a sort of workshop to the depôt, did, however, accelerate the execution of his design. In a room, where some combustible matter was preparing, a small quantity of gunpowder took fire, and the explosion attracted the attention of the neighbourhood. Of three men, who were in the room, two were considerably burnt, and one of them, in running his naked arm through a pane of glass, to let in air to prevent suffocation, cut himself so much that he bled to death.

The cause of the explosion was not immediately understood: the neighbours were refused admittance to the house, and, before an officer of police was found to attend, ammunition and some machines were conveyed out of it. Of the former, a cask was stopped in the street by the watch, and rescued from them; every means was used to trace a connection between that house and the persons who were suspected, but without success. One man (whose attachment to the cause of the Rebels was well known to Government) was taken up, but, as he could not be detained, he was discharged. Incomplete as this discovery was, it excited considerable suspicion that an attempt at arming was in forwardness; and it may be thought that a search for arms, and the arrest of suspected persons, then became indispensable; but it must be recollected what general consternation such a proceeding would have excited, when there was no certainty of being able in the event to justify the measure; and it was still less expedient to arrest persons on suspicion, whose discharge must immediately have been procured by a Judge, as the Habeas Corpus Act had not at that time been suspended.

In the week which followed this explosion, Emmett determined to attempt an insurrection. He sent into the country notices to this effect, and concurrent circumstances indicated that something was speedily to be attempted by the disaffected.[1] All calculations founded upon the apparent disposition of the country, and preparation by the disaffected, of arms provided, of foreign assistance being at hand, were against the probability, almost the possibility, of such an enterprise; and testimonies were manifold against the near execution of it. However, towards the end of the week, accounts from the country corroborated what was conjectured in Dublin; but, as nothing could be ascertained farther than that the persons suspected, and whose names were for the most part known, met and conversed, and talked confidently of success, without the object or execution of their design being in any degree ascertained; and the people in Dublin continued to be drunken, and idle, and unlike in their conduct in every respect to what they were previous to the Rebellion in 1798—at that period, many months were consumed in maturing the plans of the rebels, and they had gone much farther in actual preparation than it was possible to conceive that those of July, 1803, had done—the vigilance of the country was now greater, its force was greater, and on no calculation did it appear that an attempt could be made pregnant with danger, or which could, on a sudden, without foreign assistance, produce more than a disorderly riot, and, at the most, by giving an increase of confidence to the disaffected, and certainly not less of alacrity to the loyal, have led the way to more serious conflicts at another time.

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[1] Wilde was not sent into the County Kildare to announce the period of the intended rising, till the Thursday evening, or early on the Friday morning, the day preceding Saturday, the 23d.

Although it appeared that in the country a knowledge of what was intended had spread, and that several persons at the end of the week had come into town, there was no account of any bodies of people, armed or tumultuous, having anywhere assembled; and could it be imagined that, with a garrison of three thousand men, the seat of Government, protected by seven hundred men, either within side the Castle, or within two hundreds yards of it, a tumultuary attempt could excite dismay, or a doubt of its speedy suppression?

The arrival in town, in the course of the night of the 22d and morning of the 23d, of many people from the side of Kildare, and information privately given to Government, and which also flowed in from various quarters, left no longer any doubt that the attempt was to be made. The appearance of the people coming in from the country on Friday evening decided Emmett as to the course to be pursued on the next day.

He was by no means satisfied that his preparations were sufficiently advanced: he had spent all his money, and had not got a fresh supply; he was not confident as to the number of his men, and he wanted further time to complete his complicated machines. It was, however, too late to recede, and he decided upon a prompt effort against the opinion of some of his associates. At two o'clock on Saturday, the persons from Kildare on whom he most relied met him at an inn in Thomas Street. They required him to satisfy them as to his means of being able to go on with the insurrection; they required him to show them the fire-arms and the men, which he could not do, and, not being satisfied with a speech which he made to them, they quitted him, to return home to the country. Some remained behind, and many of the lower orders were mixed with the Dublin mob in the excesses of the night.[1]

At nine o'clock, as near as it can be ascertained, Emmett and his associates sallied forth from the depôt in Mass Lane. Pikes were delivered out in large quantities from this secret magazine, but they wanted men and order, and a plan which was practicable with such raw troops and rude implements. Emmett and his party paraded with their swords drawn, and firing pistols in Thomas Street. He could count but eighty followers at the time he left the depôt, and, when he reached the Market House in Thomas Street, nearly the whole had deserted him, except about twenty. Upon seeing himself thus abandoned, he quitted the street, and, with ten or twelve of his lieutenant-generals and colonels, as he fancied to call them, (himself and some others being in green uniforms) he proceeded by Francis Street out of the town, and to the mountains.

The rabble whom he left behind, deserted by their leaders, armed themselves with pikes, and some two or three who remained among them assumed a command, and endeavoured to lead them to the attack of the Castle, from whence they were more than half a mile distant. That they did not obey was, perhaps, more from violence than choice, and, in an endeavour to rally them, they were carried back nearly to the spot from whence they first proceeded with arms. Here they met the carriage of the ever to be lamented Lord Kilwarden; others, who continued in the lane from whence the pikes were delivered, massacred the unfortunate Colonel Browne; and other murders were committed before the casual arrival of the party from Cork Street Barracks, by the fire of which they were routed from this disgraceful scene. The depôt upon which Emmett had staked all his hopes, all his game, all his generalship, was, as might naturally have been expected, immediately detected, and pikes, arms, ammunition, machines, and rebel proclamations were discovered, without even an effort to protect them.

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[1] In another paper are stated the measures taken by Government during the day, the communications made to the military, and the unfortunate delay in bringing the troops to act against the mob, who remained in possession of Thomas Street and the adjacent passages, for three or four hours.

This depôt in itself was extraordinary and almost formidable; but, when it is considered how difficult it is to apply such a contrivance with effect to prepare for an Irish rabble a scheme by which they shall be armed from one spot, the difficulty of application, if it be kept secret, and the certainty of detection if it be not so kept, it appears to have been a most wild conceit, and failed of effect on the very principle of its absurdity. The contriver seems to have had no second plan, no mode of rallying—barely even a retreat for himself. The theories of his campaign vanished, and his disposition, which he complimented as being sanguine, might more properly be termed Quixotic.

Notwithstanding that the rein of disaffection was let loose, and the loyal subject for a while dismayed, it is consolatory to find that in so very inconsiderable a degree was the first burst of rebellion followed in other places, or by a continuance of outrage. What took place had the most terrifying and dismaying concomitants—weapons, ammunition, murders. What would be the last act of another conspiracy was the first of this; but, while much is due to the loyal and patriotic for the fortunate results of this most mischievous attempt, let us also entertain hopes that much is also due to the ameliorated disposition of our countrymen, who were formerly deceived from their allegiance, from their interests, from their religion and their happiness, by the more systematic and not less mischievous partisans of Revolution.

Nov. 15, 1803. A. M.

Proceedings of the Disturbance which broke out in Dublin, on Saturday Evening, July 23, 1803.

Between the hours of seven and eight o'clock in the evening, having received information that a rising would take place in the course of the night, I repaired to Mr. Marsden's office, and communicated to him the information I had received. He told me that Government had received similar information, and that every precautionary step was taken. I then repaired to the parade ground of the Loyal Dublin Cavalry (of which I am a member,) in order to collect our troop, and, not being able to succeed, from a number of our men being absent, I returned to the Castle about the time that Miss Wolfe came in. I waited on Mr. Marsden, and offered my service if necessary as a magistrate, which was accepted of; and, accompanied by Major Gordon, one of his Excellency's aides-de-camp, I rode to the barracks, and brought out a detachment, consisting of fifty men of the 32d Regiment of Foot (to the best of my recollection, it was about the hour of eleven o'clock). We proceeded up Dirty Lane. The night was uncommonly dark. At the end of Marshall Alley was one of those machines called Infernals, and one or two more were placed in Dirty Lane. At the upper end, and within a few doors of Thomas Street, lay the body of Colonel Browne. We joined the main party under Colonel Hyde, of the 23d, who reported that all was quiet. Patroles of the 16th Light Dragoons constantly coming in. I then took out two detachments, and proceeded to search the lanes and alleys leading from Thomas

Street, Dirty Lane, &c. One party consisting of some Regulars, a party of the barrack division, accompanied by Lieutenant Coltman, &c., &c., patrolling down Marshal Alley, saw a hackney-coach standing at a warehouse door. There were a few pikes at the door, and in the coach several articles of treasonable appearance. They immediately broke open the door, and discovered a complete military depôt. The account in Saunders's paper of yesterday is, to the best of my judgment, nearly correct. On the discovery, the party gave three cheers. I was at that time in a timber-yard in Bonham Street, searching for a fellow who had escaped into it with a pistol in his hand, as I was informed. He was taken into custody. No arms were found on him. Not knowing whether the party that gave the cheer were friends or enemies, I collected my party, and proceeded from Bonham Street up Dirty Lane. At the corner of Marshal Alley, the guard informed me of the depôt which had been discovered. I immediately repaired there, and at the break of day it was discovered that the warehouse was shorter within by several feet (about eight,) than the external appearance of the building. The partition wall was broke through, and in the intermediate space were discovered several floors full of pikes, mattresses, blankets, ammunition, &c., &c. In this partition wall were curiously hung several divisions of the wall for the purpose of taking out and depositing arms, impossible for a person unacquainted with it to observe. I repaired to the front house in Thomas Street; there was no appearance of any communication with the house and the warehouse; in the back yard of the house was a quantity of shavings. Under them we found several pikes, &c. A small office at the rear of the house had the appearance of being occupied for the purpose of making powder; and, indeed, I think it scarcely possible that the business could have been carried on without the privity of the inhabitants of the house, inhabited by Roberts, a paper-stainer. The remainder of the morning was spent in forwarding the ammunition, &c., to the barracks, patrolling and searching the houses in that neighbourhood for arms, men, &c. Too much praise cannot be given to the officers and soldiers, for their steady, cool, and regular conduct.

Given under my hand, this 30th August, 1803.

FREDERICK DARLEY,
One of the Aldermen of the City of Dublin.

SUPPLEMENT.

I. DEFENCE OF IRELAND.[1]

Secret.

It is a common observation amongst historians that a powerful invasion of an insular State is generally successful, and, if a judgment may be formed from the history of England, the observation is by no means unfounded. The reason, I think, is obvious; such a State trusts to keeping its enemies at a distance, and is ill prepared to resist them at home; it is assailable on all sides, is generally unprovided with fortresses, and, from the necessity of guarding various points of probable attack at the same time, the distribution of its forces must render the collective operation of them at the moment most favourable for resistance impracticable.

Ireland, it is true, seems to differ in one material circumstance from the description of State to which this observation applies. She has powerful protection to expect from the forces of a great empire of which she forms a part; but I rather think that even this advantage may be found insufficient to counterbalance the disadvantages of her insular situation in her present state of defence; and a very few words may be sufficient to show that the chief circumstances of strength and security, on which the other great division of the empire may with confidence rely, may prove inadequate to the defence of Ireland.

The Navy of the empire is justly considered as the safeguard or bulwark of England; but the confidence thus reposed in it must necessarily have reference to the internal situation of the country: the determined hostility which an invading army would *there* experience from the people in every quarter would render an open communication between it and the continent indispensably necessary; the invasion then of England would not be attempted without a superiority at sea.

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[1] There is nothing about this Paper to indicate by whom or when it was written. On the first point I will not hazard even a conjecture; but, from internal evidence, I am disposed to date it from about the period of the renewal of the war with France.

In Ireland no such necessity would exist. An invading army, capable of opposing the force to be spared from the protection of the different provinces against insurrection, would not find reinforcements or supplies from the continent necessary: disaffection would abundantly furnish both. It would, indeed, I fear, find itself exposed to but few of the difficulties attendant on operations in an enemy's country, and it might attain its object without a superiority at sea.

This marked difference in situation between the two countries, whether disregarded or not by us, has certainly not been overlooked by France. She has long considered Ireland as the vulnerable part of the empire, and would inevitably have proved it so, had not her efforts for the purpose been in some instances frustrated by chance, and in others crippled by scantiness of means. However, it should be considered that, although she has hitherto found great difficulty in raising troops sufficient for her various enterprises, she may now be glad to engage in any enterprise in which she can find employment for her troops. It would be idle to indulge a hope that we are exempt from the danger of a future Rebellion, because the last was in the course of a few months suppressed. It is true we are not threatened with any appearance of insurrection at the present time; but it is equally true that the great mass of our population is disaffected to the Government; and, where public security rests on so combustible a base, an accidental spark may at any time produce a destructive explosion. Upon the whole, I think it cannot be denied that if there be a country on earth in which precautionary measures of every sort, against external and internal enemies, are indispensably necessary, Ireland is that country; and, if ever there was a period in which such measures would seem to be peculiarly requisite, the present is that period.

Let us see then whether precautionary measures essential to the security of the country have not hitherto been neglected, and in what manner the neglect may be remedied.—First, as to Fortresses. So destitute are we of places of strength of any description, that even our depôts throughout the kingdom would, in the event of invasion, probably fall into the enemy's hands, or be surprised by the rebels, at the moment when the use of them would become indispensably necessary, that is, when our disposable force should be ordered from its present stations, where it affords them protection, to form an army in the field.

The capital I consider as in a peculiar degree insecure; an attempt to defend it would be vain, and to command it without a citadel would be impracticable. The public and private treasure in the National Bank, amounting to above a million in specie alone, the ordnance, small arms, and stores of every description, would offer a temptation to sudden insurrection scarcely to be resisted by the rebels, when co-operating with an invading enemy; and the advantage of seizing the persons conducting the executive Government, securing them as hostages, or compelling them to seek safety by flight, would be too obvious to be overlooked. It would indeed reduce the loyal inhabitants in general to the necessity of submitting without resistance. It has been advanced (merely, I hope, for the sake of argument) that the capital might be sacrificed for a time, without endangering the possession of the country. But, considering the proposition as connected with practice, it is neither grounded on experience deduced from history, nor on principles of common humanity.

Immense sums have been expended, in the course of the last few years, in the purchase of houses for the accommodation of troops, as well as in building barracks; but it unfortunately happens that these barracks are in general situated in large towns, where the fidelity of the troops is liable to be tampered with. The situations chosen, too, are commonly such as preclude all possibility of erecting defences round them with effect, should the yeomen and other loyal inhabitants find it necessary to resort to them for security, in the event of the troops stationed in them taking the field. Indeed, they are in general so completely commanded, that assailants would have the advantage, in point of situation, over troops attempting their defence.

The fashion of the present day, I know, is to decry fortifications in general; whether justly or not is immaterial to the present subject; for opinions may be right in the abstract and absurd in the application. Had the Emperor Joseph lived, however, he would have lamented having yielded to an opinion of their inutility; and the business of St. Jean D'Acre, as well as the defence which Alexandria has enabled the French to make in Egypt, affords an argument in favour of their being sometimes useful. The well-known resistance which the Dutch made at Williamstadt against a powerful attack might also furnish a similar argument.

I will readily admit, that fortresses would be of no use in England; but this admission leads me into another comparison of the circumstances of the two countries. *There*, as I have said, there is no real danger of invasion: *here*, it may be expected almost every hour; *there*, the mass of the people wish to uphold the Government, and have not any idea of insurrection—*here*, the majority of them wish to pull it down, and think of nothing else; *there*, the army may live among the people, without danger of corruption—*here*, the efforts to corrupt it have been incessant, and our security rests, in a great measure, in keeping them apart. But, without dwelling on the contrast, I will only observe, that an attempt might as well be made to convert a thistle into a productive corn stem, as a real Irish Jacobin into a loyal subject; although, certainly, in process of time, when a considerable part of the present generation shall have passed away, the prevailing national propensity may, by means of the Union, be changed.

The erecting of great fortresses, and the fortifying of large towns, I am aware, would be enormously expensive, and would require a great length of time to accomplish. Citadels, however, and other places of moderate extent, would not be subject to these objections, and might be of incalculable service. One of these, in the vicinity of Dublin, I conceive to be indispensably necessary; and one or more, in each of the other provinces, I should think equally requisite. A situation for the former might be found, combining the advantages of extreme strength and perfect command. Perhaps strong lines, or field works, enclosing temporary barracks, might be erected with effect, and might, in the first instance, answer for any immediate exigency; these might, as time and circumstances should permit, be strengthened and converted into fortresses, when the temporary might also be converted into durable barracks: strong and commanding situations for these lines would, of course, be chosen; and, as the space necessary for temporary barracks would be considerable, a proportion of them which could, in case of emergency, be removed at once by fire, might be erected on the outside of the works, and room thus be gained for carrying on the permanent buildings within.

This idea of field works, however, I hazard without much consideration. All I mean to contend for is, that places of strength, of some sort or other, by means of which our depôts could be secured, the loyal inhabitants, in case of emergency, protected, assembling points for them formed, places of retreat for beaten armies secured, and places of communication with England established, are essential to the safety of this country; and if this be admitted, a doubt cannot, I think, be entertained, that carrying the plan into effect, without a moment's delay, will be advisable; or that putting an immediate stop to the building of various barracks, which are erecting on a very extensive scale, and at a proportionably great expense, will be proper. In choosing situations for fortresses, I take for granted a communication with the sea, or with the great rivers navigable to it, would be the first object of attention; perhaps, however, one fortress in the centre of the kingdom might form a part of the general plan.

A common objection to places of strength on a small, or even a moderate scale, is their exposure to the effects of bombardment: now, as those in question should be calculated to afford as extensive and effectual security to people taking refuge in them, as well as to the garrisons, as possible, I would recommend that, together with the usual casemates, linny or shed barracks, formed with timber of large scantling, and covered and sloped in such a manner as to throw off shells, should be constructed along part of the ramparts. The expense of these would not be considerable; the erecting of them would employ but little time; and, as they have already been tried in Quebec and other places with success, their utility would be unquestionable.

It is true, they might not afford security against the effects of 13-inch shells; but, when it is considered that each of these contains about 200 pounds weight of iron, it is not very likely that many of them, or even of 10-inch shells, would be thrown; indeed, a regular siege of long duration is not to be apprehended: but I am inadvertently wandering into detail, which is not my present object.

The advantage next to be considered is, I conceive, that of facilitating the communication between the different military stations, by means of water conveyance; an advantage which any person who has resided in Bengal, or in almost any other country enjoying the benefit of great navigable rivers, must know how to appreciate. I do not consider canals in general as military lines much to be depended on under circumstances of emergency, because a few men may, in a single dark night, render them useless, by either tapping them where the embankments are high, throwing in earth where they are low, or breaking down gates at the locks. But I consider the Shannon as capable of being rendered most essentially useful for military purposes, provided the cuts along the shallows should be secured (which could with great ease be effected) by block-houses or other means. By this great river the Northern and Southern armies might in a manner be connected, and the removal of troops to any intermediate assembling point be so much facilitated, that the advantages would be nearly the same as if they formed an undivided body. From the head of Lough Allen to Killaloe, a distance of above a hundred miles, the navigation running nearly North and South, might be completed in the course of a few months for the removal of troops and their baggage in small boats, at an expense not exceeding £10,000 or £12,000; and a much farther extension might, without difficulty, be accomplished.

In estimating this advantage, one should recollect the history of Holland in the year 1590, when Prince Maurice, by frequently conveying his army, entire and unfatigued, with its stores and artillery, in a tenth part of the time that the Spaniards were able to march the same distance, had it in his power to defend places threatened, and to attack where attacks were not expected, with such promptitude and effect, that the enemy found him almost unassailable and invincible. I do not say the parallel will hold good in its full extent, but certainly the instance is not irrelevant, and many others might be adduced. I will now say a few words in reply to arguments which I have heard urged against the expediency of adopting the system I recommend; and, in doing so, I may perhaps dwell somewhat longer than I have already done on the local circumstances which I conceive render that system indispensably necessary.

I have heard it objected to places of strength near the sea that the enemy might, in the course of a campaign, gain possession of them, and turn the advantage of them against us: such objection, although admissible, perhaps, as a general argument against fortresses, happens not to apply to the particular case: those in question could be useful only to the party connected with England, and in possession of the command at sea. I have heard it said, too, that the occasion would be past before fortresses could be erected, or the Shannon rendered navigable. It would be happy for the civilized world if this were true. The Union, which is certainly one of the best measures that ever was carried, points more to remote than to immediate advantages; and I may add that, unless the security of the country against invasion or insurrection be attended to, that question may prove to have been of pretty nearly the same moment to the nation as the consideration to an individual would be what coloured curtains his deathbed should be hung with.

It has also been urged, as an argument against fortresses, that garrisoning them would require too large a proportion of our disposable force. In advancing this objection, however, it seems to have been forgotten how large a proportion of our disposable force would be necessary in the event of invasion, without citadels to guard the capital and other posts, where sudden insurrections might naturally be expected.

The objection would certainly apply to fortresses on a great scale; but the places of strength I recommend would not be of that description, although I do not mean to propose that they should be very small. So long as we should retain a superiority in the field, there would be little probability of their being attacked; and the protection they would afford to the loyal inhabitants, as well as to our magazines, would supply what we are now destitute of—the means of preserving that superiority. Whilst we should retain it, garrisons composed of yeomen and other loyal inhabitants of the surrounding counties, together with invalids and seamen, commanded by good officers, would be found sufficient, and would prevent the necessity of reducing our disposable force. Should we lose that superiority, our beaten armies would abundantly garrison the fortresses, as well as find protection under their guns; and, instead of being driven into the sea, or reduced to the necessity of laying down their arms, they would remain in security until reinforcements should arrive from England, to enable them to re-commence active operations.

Another objection I have heard stated is, that citadels, or other places of strength of the description I recommend, would be incapable of defence for any considerable length of time against a serious attack. With England and its fleets ready to assist us, the necessity for a long defence would be highly improbable; and, as to its practicability, much would depend on the natural strength of the situations chosen for those places.

It has been asked, why the French Revolution was not prevented by means of fortresses, if they are likely to be of such infinite advantage in the event of a general rebellion in this country; and perhaps the force of this question might be increased by an admission, grounded on a parallel, that the natural disposition of the Irish populace is somewhat light, versatile, and sanguinary. But the circumstances of the two countries, in other respects, are widely different. In France, a successful insurrection annihilated at once the power of the Government: here, the seat of Government being remote, and amongst a loyal people, its power would not, even in such case, be extinguished; it might be re-exerted with increased energy; and the very quality adverted to, of versatility combined with the inveterate enmity to each other of the parties into which the people are divided, would tend to secure the success of such re-exertions, if the means of employing them should be provided. But the objection most dwelt upon is, that the precautionary measures in question point to extreme cases, such as are not likely to occur. It might be sufficient, in reply, to observe that precautions against evils should be proportioned to their magnitude as well as to the probability of their arrival. But, as this objection is rather comprehensive in its bearings, I shall not confine myself to very narrow limits in answering it.

I have already expressed what I judged to be the political sentiments of a great majority of the people of this country; but I will readily admit, notwithstanding, that, at this moment, there does not appear to be any immediate danger of insurrection; however, as that event is certainly not beyond the reach of possibility, a short retrospect to some circumstances of the last Rebellion may be somewhat in point. The failure of that Rebellion is principally to be ascribed to some circumstances in a great degree attributable to chance; the assistance which the insurgents had reason to expect from France arrived too late; their General-in-Chief, together with most of the other leaders, were discovered, and, through the energy and wisdom of the Administration of that day, seized before the Rebellion broke out. It therefore rose without a head, and proceeded without system. But, after all, notwithstanding circumstances so unpropitious attended it, and although a very few counties only ventured (or rather were prepared) to join in it, had it not been prematurely forced forward, and had not a few thousand Dublin tradesmen in red coats happened at that moment to be loyal, the event might have been extremely doubtful. Even under these circumstances, the fate of the capital depended on the success of a hard fought engagement at Arklow, between a body of the King's troops, under the command of General Needham, and a body of rebels, and on the fate of the battle of Ross, which was so long and so severely contested. Had the insurgents in either instance been successful, it is well known that they intended proceeding to Dublin, where they would have been joined by multitudes, including several organized battalions, and the insurrection would unquestionably have become general throughout the kingdom: indeed, they might have effected this movement (trusting to dispersion for safety), without even hazarding an engagement in the field, and have secured abundant supplies of treasure, ammunition, and arms; but, fortunately for us, they neglected these advantages. Unencumbered as they were, they could have outmarched our troops, and, in possession of the country, as they would have been, they could have cut off from us all lines of intelligence or communication. But the day is past for disregarding the power of a disaffected and warlike populace. Organization has altered the face of human affairs. Had not the citizens, or rather the mob, of Paris been held too cheap by the Court at the commencement of the French Revolution, and had not the great supplies of arms and ammunition which they seized at the outset in the Hospital of Invalids and other depôts been left unprotected, the country might not have been lost.

A few words in addition to what I have already said on the probability, plan, and consequences of an invasion may be in point, too, in answering this last objection.

The policy of an attack on Ireland is too obvious to be overlooked by a sagacious and persevering enemy, although circumstances may perhaps oblige her to postpone attempting it during the present war. That enemy, however, has hitherto conducted her attempts for this purpose on a principle denoting an opinion that a considerable naval force would be essential to their success, and in this I am inclined to think she is mistaken. The difficulty for one fleet to intercept another is, in general, very great, and the navigation from France to Ireland is peculiarly favourable for eluding interception. A fleet of transports, with a few ships to defend them against cruizers, sailing from the southern ports of France, or from Cadiz, which may now be considered as a French port, by only taking care to secure sufficient westing before they should steer a northerly course, could from that run in a direct line for Ireland, and during three-fourths of the year the winds are favourable for that course. I do not think it unlikely that their destination would be the Shannon or the Barrow, or that they would, on approaching the mouth of one of those rivers, send back their fighting vessels, land as near the capital as possible, dismiss all attention to the safety of the transports, and relinquish all idea of re-embarking. This, indeed, must be given up in any attack, while we continue to possess a superiority at sea, for the views of the enemy would never be confined to a literal enterprise; and, should they be obliged even to lay down their arms, the loss for a time of the services of those troops would amply be compensated in the estimation of their Government by a transfer of the maintenance of them to England, as the difficulty with France is rather to pay than to raise forces.

This dashing mode of attack would suit the enterprising character of the French nation and Government, and the disaffected, seeing their allies in the heart of the kingdom, and within a very few days' march of the capital, would at once rise to support them. One, indeed, of the misfortunes of this country is, the facility with which it might be overrun, in comparison with countries commanding extensive frontiers. A landing high up the Barrow and in Wexford, at the same time, would offer many advantages to an invading army, but, effected anywhere, the difficulty of assembling in time a sufficient force to oppose it with effect would be excessive, as even the late invasion proved, and the fate of the enterprise would probably be decided before troops could be marched across England, or be transported round from her eastern coast to our relief.

Now, as to the consequences of an invasion, it is not a monstrous supposition that a body of veterans, assisted by a formidable insurrection, and acting against an army difficult to assemble, with many points remote from each other to protect, might meet with considerable success at the outset, and the possibility, at least, of this, seems the more evident from the circumstance of our army here being composed chiefly of untried troops, with the fidelity of a certain proportion of them somewhat questionable. Now, a more hopeless situation can scarcely be contemplated than that of a beaten army on an island of inconsiderable extent, closely pursued, without any place of safety to retreat to, and with the mass of the people favourable to the victors. The fact is that, in these times, events which would before have been thought visionary are become quite familiar to one's observation.

It might be indispensably necessary at the commencement of the campaign to gain time. Everything might depend on the arrival of reinforcements from England: now, could these be sent, would they be permitted to be sent, unless the means of securing their re-embarkation, in case of defeat, should previously be provided? In continental wars, in general, each army has a friendly country to retreat to. Here, in our present state of defence, a single defeat might leave to us only the alternative of submission or inevitable destruction.

In short, I am persuaded so much depends on establishing safe assembling and retreating posts communicating with England, that, destitute of them, the country may be lost without a struggle, and by means of them, even if lost for a time, it might, and I trust would, be recovered. I assume the proposition that Ireland would be fought for by England to the last extremity, for it is pretty generally admitted that, if one country were to fall, the other could not stand; indeed, a powerful French-Irish army, within a few hours' sail in open boats of the British shore, would be a circumstance requiring a very strong heart, and, at the same time, a very weak head, to contemplate with indifference.

II. CATHOLICS.

1805.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD CORNWALLIS AND MR. PLOWDEN.

From Mr. Plowden.

Essex Street, April 6, 1805.

My Lord—Having, by the publication of my *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, largely committed myself to the present and future generations, I will not dissemble that I am anxious to procure and hand down to posterity my character, free as I know it ought to be, from the slightest stain upon its honour, honesty, and truth. Ere your Lordship quits this country, I have one request more to make of you, which, as it is an act of justice to the Irish nation and to yourself, I do expect will be attended to. It is merely that your Lordship will verify my assertion of your having given the Paper mentioned in my *Historical Review*, vol. iii., p. 944, to Dr. Troy, in the presence of Colonel Littlehales. My reason for asking this act of justice at your hands is, that in your absence I may effectually repel the charge which has been made to me personally in Downing Street and elsewhere, by Members of Parliament calling themselves your Lordship's confidential friends, that you never did grant such pledge to Dr. Troy, nor ever did entertain a sentiment like those which are expressed in that paper. I am encouraged by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Moira, Mr. Fox, and several of the first characters of this country, to prepare an abridged edition of my work for more general circulation, and I shall of course avail myself of fresh evidence, to confirm what I hope is true, as well as to correct what I should lament was false in the present edition. Your Lordship will not wonder that a certain degree of scepticism has assailed my mind, upon coupling in my thoughts some recent appointments of many characters of eminence, pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained. I therefore thought it consistent with the character of a gentleman to present you my works, to write to and to call upon your Lordship: as these intended marks of attention have remained unnoticed, I should think it inconsistent with that character to renew them.

I have the honour to be, &c., FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

Answer.

Burlington Street, April 7, 1805.

Sir—I have received your letter of yesterday's date, and I feel no difficulty in giving the most satisfactory answer to it in my power. I have neither a copy nor a distinct recollection of the words of the paper which I gave to Dr. Troy. But this I perfectly well remember, that the paper was hastily given to him by me to be circulated amongst his friends, with the view of preventing any immediate disturbances or other bad effects that might be apprehended from the accounts that had just arrived from England. And, if I made use of the word *pledged*, I could only mean that, in my own opinion, the Ministers, by resigning their offices, gave a pledge of their being friends to the measure of Catholic Emancipation; for I can assure you that I never received authority, directly or indirectly, from any member of Administration who resigned his office, to give a pledge that he would not embark again in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained.

I have the honour to be, &c., CORNWALLIS.

From Mr. Plowden.

Essex Street, April 8, 1805.

My Lord—Having given to your Lordship a copy of my History, and in my letter of the 6th instant pointed to the page of it which contained that important paper, of which you say you have neither a copy nor a distinct recollection, I take the liberty of enclosing an exact copy of it from the manuscript of Dr. Troy, in my possession, which led me to believe that it had been neither hastily given, nor insidiously intended to answer a temporary purpose, or to meet the effects of a flying report.

I have the honour, &c., FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

Answer.

Burlington Street, April 9, 1805.

Sir—I alluded in my former letter to a short paper which I gave to Dr. Troy on the morning after the account of the resignation arrived. I have no copies of the papers which you have now transmitted to me. I do not however doubt their authenticity. But of one circumstance I can speak with the most confident certainty, viz., that I had on no occasion any authority for using the word *pledged* but the act of resignation.

I have the honour to be, &c., CORNWALLIS.

1807.

MINUTES OF CABINET COUNCILS, AND CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE KING AND MINISTERS, REFERRED TO IN THE CORRESPONDENCE.

Heads of Despatches, upon the Admission and Promotion of Dissenters in the Army and Navy.

A despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, of the 7th February, referred to in the Minute of Cabinet of the 9th, states various proceedings of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, meetings held to consider of petitioning his Majesty, and conferences which had taken place between some of their leading men and Mr. Elliot. Also that Lord Fingall and many other of the most respectable of the Roman Catholics are not anxious, at this time and after all that has passed, to bring forward the main question, provided they can obtain the grant of certain privileges connected with it; that he conceives the renewal of the question might be thus obviated: and his Excellency states that, as far as he has understood, the concessions which would satisfy them would be the removal of the restrictions upon the admission into the army and navy, and the military promotion of Roman Catholic gentlemen, of those which affect their serving as sheriffs, and their admission into corporations. The Duke of Bedford merely states this, and does not in any part of his letter appear to press the necessity or absolute expediency of a compliance.

The answer states that, however necessary it may be upon the present occasion to state, from the line of conduct which the majority of his Majesty's present Ministers have pursued upon a former occasion when the question was agitated, that their sentiments have even been favourable to the wishes of the Roman Catholics, and that nothing has since occurred to produce a change in those sentiments; still, upon that occasion, when the question was discussed, the sense of Parliament was so decidedly against a compliance with those wishes, and appeared so strongly supported by that of the country, that they should not feel warranted at present if they did not endeavour to keep back the petition, and to prevent the renewal of the question, and the Lord-Lieutenant was therefore directed to use his endeavours to that effect.

As to the concessions which he mentions, although they by no means extend to establish any compromise upon this occasion, they conceive there is one which may, without inconvenience or impropriety, be granted, namely, the removal of restrictions upon admission into the army, and the military promotion of the Roman Catholics. That with this view it is their intention, with his Majesty's sanction, to introduce a clause in the Mutiny Bill to the above effect, binding such Roman Catholics as should enter the service by a proper oath of allegiance to his Majesty, upon receiving their commissions. That the restriction upon their serving as sheriffs could not be removed with equal facility, as being too intimately connected with the main question, and that they conceived the Roman Catholics were already in possession of the privilege which regards their admission into corporations, in consequence of an Act of old date.

The despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant, dated 10th February, referred to in the Minute of Cabinet of the 12th instant, states the result of the meeting convened by Lord Fingall, and held on the 9th, and the resolution taken to consider of a petition in which all was to be asked for short of seats in Parliament.

On the 14th February, the King received from Lord Grenville, without any accompanying letter, a despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of the 11th, transmitting a newspaper containing the proceedings of the Catholic meeting on the 9th. His Excellency describes Mr. Keogh's speeches as most violent and inflammatory—states that the junction of Lord Fingall had certainly given great confidence to the body of the Catholics, and more determination to their proceedings—that Mr. Keogh had taken upon himself to assert that he had just reason to hold out hopes of a favourable answer to their first representation. This the Duke of Bedford positively denies; declares that no encouragement whatever has been given by the Irish Government to expect a favourable answer; that, whatever may be the decision of his Majesty's Government, the course remains perfectly open. In adverting to what Lord Fingall is made to say, his Excellency states that his conversation with Mr. Elliott is not correctly stated, as the latter went no further than to say that the representations would be transmitted and the answer communicated.

As the matter now stands, the Duke of Bedford doubts whether any concession will keep back the petition; that, indeed, the Irish Chancellor conceives that, if the three points mentioned in his first despatch on this subject, and a fourth, namely, the capacity to be made King's Counsel, were conceded, their further proceedings would be stopped, but the Lord-Lieutenant declares his sentiments to be decidedly adverse to any unbecoming compromise which would only betray weakness, and give no security for the future. If his Majesty's

Government should be disposed to make any concessions upon this occasion, he suggests the propriety of his Majesty's Ministers merely stating generally that it was their intention to offer certain proposals for the consideration of Parliament, which should afford the Catholics relief, without entering into any particulars. In a private letter of the same date, Mr. Elliott mentions that it has been understood that a resolution will be taken in their next meeting, to present a petition on the 17th, and that the Lord-Lieutenant is very fearful he may not receive the answer from England to his first despatch in time to prevent it.

On the 21st February, the King received from Lord Spencer despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant, dated the 17th and 18th; Lords Fingall and French and Mr. O'Connor, and some others, had had a long conference with Mr. Elliot, in which he communicated to them the answer of his Majesty's Government to their first representation in conformity to the instructions received, dwelling much upon the point that the indulgence proposed respecting military promotion was not of the nature of a compromise, but one intended previous to any knowledge of their intention to petition. Lord French stated that, in 1793, assurances had been given to him of admission to corporations and to bank. Mr. Elliot observed that the present Bank Charter contained no provision of that nature, and could not be altered; to which Lord French replied, that he mentioned it with a view to reserve the right upon a new one being framed. Mr. O'Connor asked whether, by the intended clause, Catholics could be employed as Generals on the Staff? Mr. Elliot replied that he understood it to stipulate the admission to any military commission. Little further passed, nor was any observation made by them further than that they would report the conversation to the committee. The remainder of the despatch details the proceedings at the meeting held on the 17th. Lord Spencer sent the despatches without observation.

On the 28th February the King received despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant, dated the 25th, in which was stated the result of the meeting of the Catholics in Dublin on the 24th.

On the 3d of March, the King received from Lord Howick, in the absence of Lord Spencer, a copy of the proposed clauses, together with the draft of a despatch to the Lord-Lieutenant transmitting them. They were unaccompanied by any observation, although, upon reading them, they proved materially to differ from those originally submitted to the King, inasmuch as they admitted of the employment of Dissenters of all descriptions, including Catholics, in all ranks of the army and navy.

His Majesty returned them without any observation, considering that to be superfluous, after having declared so positively, in his letter of the 12th February to Lord Grenville, that he would not go one step further, &c. The King, however, repeated that declaration verbally to Lord Howick in London on the following day, the 4th, when it appeared that Lord Howick had in the intermediate time sent the despatch.

St. James's Place, February 9, 1807.

Earl Spencer has the honour to lay before your Majesty a despatch received from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, relative to the proceedings which have lately taken place among certain of the Catholics in that country, together with the Minute agreed upon by your Majesty's servants, to be humbly submitted to your Majesty with the draft of an answer to the Lord-Lieutenant's despatch referred to in the said Minute.

At the Earl Spencer's, February 9, 1807.

Present:

The Lord President, Viscount Howick,
The Lord Privy Seal, Lord Henry Petty,
Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville,
Earl of Moira, Mr. Secretary Windham,
Mr. Grenville.

Your Majesty's servants, upon consideration of the despatch received from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland of the 4th instant, respecting the proceedings of certain of the Catholics of Ireland, and the communications made by them to your Majesty's Government, beg leave to submit to your Majesty their humble opinion that it may be proper that the answer, a draft of which is herewith humbly submitted to your Majesty, should be sent to the Lord-Lieutenant, with instructions to conform his conduct to what is therein stated.

Windsor Castle, February 10, 1807.

The King has received Earl Spencer's letter, transmitting a Minute of Cabinet, with the despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the draft of the proposed answer to which it refers. Whilst his Majesty approves of that part of the answer which instructs the Lord-Lieutenant to keep back any petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to prevent the renewal of a question upon which his Majesty's sentiments and the general sense of the country have already been so clearly pronounced, the King cannot but express the most serious concern that any proposal should have been made to him for the introduction of a clause in the Mutiny Bill, which would remove a restriction upon the Roman Catholics, forming in his opinion a most essential feature of the question, and so strongly connected with the whole that the King trusts his Parliament never would, under any circumstances, agree to it. His Majesty's objections to this proposal do not result from any slight motives; they have never varied, for they arise from the principles by which he has been guided through life, and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question, a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart, nor can Earl Spencer be surprised that such should be his Majesty's feelings upon this occasion, as he cannot have forgotten what occurred when the subject was brought forward seven years ago, and he had hoped in consequence that it would never again have been agitated.

GEORGE R.

Downing Street, February 11, 1807, 1 A. M.

Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to submit to your Majesty the enclosed Minute drawn at the meeting of the Cabinet this evening. Earl Spencer's health is not yet sufficiently restored to allow of his attendance, but Lord Grenville is confident that Lord Spencer fully participates in the sentiments which the rest of your Majesty's servants have ventured to express. Lord Grenville feels that it is in some degree presumptuous in him to think that any individual representation on his part can add weight to that of your Majesty's Cabinet, and yet he cannot refrain from adding the earnest intreaties of an attached and faithful servant, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to bestow upon this paper that full consideration which he trusts it merits, not less from the spirit in which it is drawn, than from the extreme importance of the object which it has in view.

He can faithfully assure your Majesty that it was his earnest wish (and that, as he confidently believes, of all your Majesty's servants) that every discussion should be avoided which could, in the remotest degree, be painful to any feelings, or repugnant to any opinion, of your Majesty; and this object they hoped they had attained in the measure which they took the liberty to suggest, when the circumstances of the times, and the considerations due to the peace and union of the empire, no longer left any possibility of postponing the consideration of a question so impatiently pressed forward by others.

The measure in question, so far from being in opposition to any known or expressed opinion of your Majesty, is perfectly conformable in its principle to that concession to which your Majesty had long ago been pleased most graciously to consent. And while the exercise of the power to be conferred is lodged solely in your Majesty's hands, and a reserve made for the annual exercise of the discretion of Parliament with respect to the continuance of that power, Lord Grenville flatters himself it is impossible that any evil can result from it to the security of principles and establishments to which he is as warmly and conscientiously attached as any other of your Majesty's subjects.

On the other hand, the advantage is beyond all calculation of recruiting your Majesty's Army by the superabundance of that population which, for the want of such a vent, is now too frequently engaged in acts of turbulence and disorder at home; of adding to the public strength by the very same measure which will contribute to the public tranquillity; and by employing against the enemy abroad the very same hands that would possibly be raised in his support, were he to succeed in landing an army in Ireland.

In like manner, with respect to the officers, Lord Grenville is persuaded that no measure could more effectually promote the general interests of the Empire than one which will accustom the gentry of Ireland to look for their promotion and advancement in life to your Majesty's service, and which, by mixing them in habits of intercourse with the great body of your Majesty's officers, will gradually infuse into their minds the same spirit and principles by which that body is animated.

Of the sincerity of these opinions your Majesty cannot doubt. Nothing but a deep impression of the indispensable necessity of some step of this nature at the present moment, and the peculiar advantage of the measure now recommended in its tendency to prevent difficulties of the most embarrassing nature, could induce Lord Grenville to think himself warranted in recommending it with such extreme earnestness. And, whatever may be your Majesty's ultimate decision on this momentous question, he is persuaded that your Majesty's condescension and goodness will attribute this freedom to its only true motive.

Downing Street, February 10, 1807.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.
The Lord President.
The Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Henry Petty.
Lord Grenville.
Lord Ellenborough.
Earl of Moira.
Viscount Howick.
Mr. Secretary Windham.
Mr. Grenville.

It is with the deepest and most unfeigned regret that your Majesty's servants learn that the proposed despatch to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has not, in all its parts, been honoured with that approbation from your Majesty which they had allowed themselves to hope for, and which they still flatter themselves it may ultimately obtain from your Majesty's gracious consideration of what they now beg leave to submit.

They can assure your Majesty, with the utmost sincerity, that it has been their anxious endeavour so to frame the proposed Instruction as that it might be entirely free from the difficulties that might attend other parts of this subject on which (as your Majesty knows) a difference of opinion prevails among the persons whom your Majesty has been graciously pleased to call to your councils, and on which they are all aware of the sentiments which your Majesty has at former periods expressed. They had persuaded themselves that, in the clauses to be proposed for the Mutiny Bill, your Majesty would be of opinion that they are only fulfilling the engagement which had been formerly entered into under your Majesty's authority, and carrying into effect a principle which has already received the fullest and most formal sanction, by the Act passed in the Irish Parliament in the thirty-second year of your Majesty's reign. That Act enabled your Majesty's Catholic subjects in Ireland to hold Commissions in your Majesty's Army, with no other restriction than is there pointed out; and, if a similar provision be refused with respect to this part of the now United Kingdom, it appears obvious that the grace thus conferred by your Majesty on that large body of your people must be rendered wholly illusory, and an appearance given of a conduct on the part of your Majesty's Government not consistent with your Majesty's uniform and paternal beneficence towards your people, or with that openness and good faith with which your Majesty always wishes that your servants should conduct themselves in all the transactions of your Government.

In addition to these considerations, they beg leave to represent to your Majesty, with the most profound deference, and at the same time with the utmost earnestness, that the formidable dangers which now surround the country, from a state of affairs in Europe altogether unexampled, appeared to impose upon them the indispensable duty of proposing to Parliament to unite in the common cause the military efforts of the whole population of your Majesty's empire, in order to secure the best interests of their country from ultimately sinking under the increasing preponderance of France. The absence and want of such aid would, in such a moment, be deeply felt; but your Majesty's servants fear that a still greater danger might result from conveying to so considerable a body of your Majesty's subjects the impressions which must follow from a decided refusal to admit them under such circumstances to a full share of the military defence of their country.

Your Majesty's servants would therefore think themselves deeply criminal, if they could disguise this peril from your Majesty, or if they could neglect to offer to Parliament a proposal which they respectfully conceive is not liable to the ground of objection which your Majesty appears at first view to have felt to it; which, in its principle, is already sanctioned by a law long since passed, and acted upon in many instances; which, in its form, would continually keep the subject within the care and control of Parliament, to whom it must be annually submitted; and which, while it appears to them the measure best calculated to avert the dangers which they have humbly represented to your Majesty, affords, at the same time, the most probable means of preventing the agitation of those questions on which the opinion of Parliament has been so recently pronounced.

Queen's Palace, February 10, 1807.

The King has maturely considered what is stated in Lord Grenville's letter of the 10th instant, and the accompanying Minute of Cabinet. He is disposed upon this, as upon all occasions, to do full justice to the motives which influence any advice which may be submitted to him by Lord Grenville and his other confidential servants; and, however painful his Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the removal of objections to any proposal which may have even the most distant reference to a question which has already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflections, he will not, under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what took place in 1793, prevent his Ministers from submitting, for the consideration of his Parliament, the propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. Whilst, however, the King so far reluctantly concedes, he thinks it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step further, and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with this question.

George R.

Downing Street, February 12, 1807, 12 p.m.

Lord Grenville begs leave, in the absence of Earl Spencer, most humbly to submit to your Majesty the Minute of the Meeting of your Majesty's confidential servants of this evening, together with the despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant to which it refers, and which Lord Grenville has read with great concern.

Downing Street, February 12, 1807.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.
The Lord President.
The Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Moira.
Viscount Howick.
Lord H. Petty.
Lord Grenville.
Lord Ellenborough.
Mr. Secretary Windham.
Mr. Grenville.

Your Majesty's confidential servants humbly beg leave to express to your Majesty their grateful acknowledgments for your Majesty's most gracious communication received this day, by Lord Grenville, and the deep sense they entertain of the favourable opinion which your Majesty is pleased to express of the motives which will always regulate any advice which it may be their duty to submit to your Majesty. They trust that they shall not be disappointed in their hope of beneficial consequences to result from the measure to which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent, and they humbly intreat your Majesty to believe that they have no object more at heart than the endeavouring, by all means consistent with the faithful and conscientious discharge of their duties to your Majesty, to avert from your Majesty every circumstance that can in any manner be painful to your Majesty's feelings.

Your Majesty's servants are the more anxious to express this assurance, because it appears, from the despatch just transmitted by the Lord-Lieutenant, that there is now scarcely a hope left of preventing the immediate presentation of a petition on the part of the Catholics to Parliament—a circumstance of great difficulty and embarrassment, in every view of the question.

Downing Street, March 12, 1807.

Lord Grenville humbly solicits your Majesty's permission to attend your Majesty to-morrow, at any time that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to appoint. In consequence of what your Majesty expressed to him yesterday, he has felt the greatest anxiety and distress of mind from the idea that any misunderstanding, however unintentional on his part, should have had the effect of creating uneasiness in your Majesty's breast, on a point on which he had felt so earnest and peculiar a desire to avoid any such impression; and he trusts that what he will have the honour of laying before your Majesty to-morrow will at least evince the sincerity of these sentiments.

Answer—Lord Grenville appointed at twelve o'clock on the 13th March.

Downing Street, March 12, 1807.

Lord Howick presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave respectfully to state that, having learned from the Lord President that, in the conversation with which your

Majesty was graciously pleased to honour Lord Howick upon the Bill now depending in Parliament for the admission of Dissenters from the Established Church into the Army and Navy, he had not accurately understood the opinion which your Majesty intended to convey upon that subject. Lord Howick is most anxiously desirous of being allowed to explain to your Majesty the conduct which he has pursued under this misapprehension, and therefore humbly solicits your Majesty's royal permission to be admitted to your Majesty's presence for that purpose.

Till this explanation has been humbly offered, Lord Howick feels that it would not be consistent with his duty to proceed further with the Bill in question, and will therefore to-night, in the House of Commons, propose to postpone the second reading until Tuesday next.

Lord Howick further begs leave humbly to assure your Majesty that his most anxious endeavours shall be used during this interval to find some mode by which a measure, originally proposed from a sense of duty alone, may be rendered less objectionable to your Majesty.

Answer.—Lord Howick appointed at one o'clock on the 13th of March.

Downing Street, March 15, 1807.

Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to submit to your Majesty a Minute containing the opinion of such of your Majesty's servants as are therein named, respecting the matter of the Bill which has been proposed to Parliament.

The pressure of the subject is in every view of it so great, that Lord Grenville trusts your Majesty will excuse his taking the liberty of presenting himself at Windsor to-morrow, for the purpose of giving any explanations which your Majesty may deem necessary on this important occasion. Lord Grenville will be in attendance on your Majesty's commands as soon as he can after ten o'clock, and he has ventured to mention that hour, because he is under the necessity of attending the House of Lords on the Scotch Judicature Bill.

Downing Street, March 15, 1807.

Present:

Lord Privy Seal.	Lord H. Petty.
Earl of Moira.	Lord Grenville.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Secretary Windham.

Mr. Grenville.

Your Majesty's servants now present, being those whose opinions are favourable to the Bill depending in Parliament, beg leave humbly to submit to your Majesty that, on a full consideration of all the circumstances connected with that Bill, they do not intend that any further proceeding upon it should be had on their part in Parliament. This determination rests entirely on the same motives which have induced them to abstain from bringing forward other and more extensive measures connected with the same subject, and which would, in their judgment, be highly advantageous to the public interests. They had flattered themselves that the present proposal might not have encountered the same difficulties which attend the measures to which they allude; but, as this hope appears to have been founded on a misunderstanding, they judge it, on the whole, more consonant to their public duty not to press forward any further the discussion of the present Bill. They have thought this course of proceeding would be both more respectful to your Majesty and more advantageous to the public interests, than any attempt to alter the Bill, so as to bring it nearer to the strict letter of the Irish Act. The points of difference which exist between that law and the present Bill relate to matters, the consideration of which (as it appears to them) it is almost impossible to separate from the measure itself; and they have found the attempt impracticable to reduce the Bill to such a form as would obviate the difficulties which now obstruct its success, and as could, on the other hand, be at all satisfactory to propose.

In stating to Parliament this determination to make this very painful sacrifice to what they conceive to be their public duty, they trust your Majesty will see the indispensable necessity of their expressing (with the same openness by which their language on that subject has uniformly been marked) the strong persuasion which each of them individually entertains of the advantages which would result to the Empire from a different course of policy towards the Catholics of Ireland. These opinions they have never concealed from your Majesty; they continue strongly impressed with them; and it is obviously indispensable to their public characters that they should openly avow them, both on the present occasion, and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic Petition in Parliament—a discussion which they have all equally endeavoured to prevent, on which (if it should be forced upon them), there might not be a perfect uniformity of conduct between them, but in which the adherence of them to their former opinions must naturally be declared. They beg leave to add, that they cannot look without great uneasiness and apprehension at the present state of Ireland, which they consider as the only vulnerable part of the British Empire. The situation of that country is, as they fear, likely to force itself more and more upon the consideration of your Majesty's Government and of Parliament; and it is essential not only to their own characters, but also, as they sincerely believe, to the public interests, that the deference which they have felt it their duty to show on this occasion to the opinions and feelings expressed by your Majesty should not be understood as restraining them from submitting, from time to time, as their duty is, for your Majesty's decision, such measures respecting that part of your United Kingdom as the course of circumstances shall appear to require.

They have only further most humbly to assure your Majesty that, in discharging that and every other part of their duty, so long as your Majesty shall think fit to honour them with your confidence, nothing shall be omitted on their part which can best testify their invariable and respectful attachment to your Majesty, and their sincere and anxious concern for your Majesty's personal ease and comfort, and for the prosperity and honour of your Majesty's Government.

Windsor Castle, March 17, 1807.

The King has lost no time in dictating his answer to the minute of Cabinet. Lord Grenville will receive it enclosed, and his Majesty desires he will communicate it to his colleagues, trusting, at the same time, that Lord Grenville will see the propriety, with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes that, when they shall have duly considered the latter part of his Majesty's answer, their determination shall be stated on paper.

George R.

Windsor Castle, March 17, 1807.

The King, having fully considered what is submitted in the minute of Cabinet which he received yesterday morning, desires Lord Grenville will communicate to those of his confidential servants who were present his sentiments and observations upon the contents of that minute, as hereafter expressed.

His Majesty has learned with satisfaction that they have determined not to press forward any further the discussion of the Bill depending in Parliament, and he is sensible of the deference thus shown to his sentiments and to his feelings; but, he regrets that, while they have felt bound, as his ministers, to adopt this line of conduct, they should, as individuals, consider it necessary to state to Parliament opinions which are known to be so decidedly contrary to his principles, at a moment, too, when it is the declared object of his Government not to encourage any disposition, on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to prefer a petition to Parliament.

From the latter part of the minute, the King must conclude that, although the Bill now depending is dropped, they have been unable to make up their minds not to press upon him in future measures connected with a question which has already proved so distressing to him; nor can his Majesty conceal from them that this intimation on their part, unless withdrawn, will leave the matter in a state most embarrassing and unsatisfactory to him, and, in his opinion, not less so to them. The King, therefore, considers it due to himself and consistent with the fair and upright conduct which it has been, and ever will be, his object to observe towards every one, to declare at once most unequivocally that upon this subject his sentiments never can change; that he cannot ever agree to any concessions to the Catholics which his confidential servants may in future propose to him; and that, under these circumstances, and after what has passed, his mind cannot be at ease, unless he shall receive a positive assurance from them, which shall effectually relieve him from all future apprehension.

George R.

Downing Street, March 18, 1807, half-past 1, A.M.

Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to lay before your Majesty the minute of a meeting of such of your Majesty's servants as are therein named, which was held to-night at Earl Spencer's house.

At the Earl Spencer's, March 17, 1807.

Present:

The Lord Privy Seal.
Earl Spencer.
Earl of Moira.
Viscount Howick.
Lord H. Petty.
Lord Grenville.
Mr. Secretary Windham.
Mr. Grenville.

Your Majesty's servants have considered, with the most respectful and dutiful attention, the answer which your Majesty has done them the honour to return to their minute of the 15th instant. They beg leave, most humbly, to represent to your Majesty that, at the time when your Majesty was graciously pleased to call them to your councils, no assurance was required from them inconsistent with those duties which are inseparable from that station. Had any such assurance been then demanded, they must have expressed, with all humility and duty, the absolute impossibility of their thus fettering the free exercise of their judgment.

Those who are entrusted by your Majesty with the administration of your extensive Empire are bound by every obligation to submit to your Majesty, without reserve, the best advice which they can frame, to meet the various exigencies and dangers of the times.

The situation of Ireland appears to your Majesty's servants to constitute the most formidable part of the present difficulties of the Empire. This subject must, as they conceive, require a continued and vigilant attention, and a repeated consideration of every fresh circumstance which may call for the interposition of your Majesty's Government or of Parliament.

In forbearing to urge any further (while employed in your Majesty's service) a measure which would, in their judgment, have tended to compose the present uneasiness in Ireland, and have been productive of material benefit to the Empire, they humbly submit to your Majesty that they have gone to the utmost possible limits of their public duty: but that it would be deeply criminal in them, with the general opinions which they entertain on the subject, to bind themselves to withhold from your Majesty, under all the various circumstances which may arise, those counsels which may eventually appear to them indispensably necessary for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and for defeating the enterprises of the enemy against the very existence of your Majesty's Empire.

Your Majesty's servants must ever deeply regret that any difficulty should arise on their part in giving the most prompt obedience to any demand which your Majesty considers as indispensable to the ease of your Majesty's mind. But it is not possible for them, consistently with any sense of those obligations which must always attach on the sworn counsellors of your Majesty, to withdraw a statement which was not made without the most anxious consideration of every circumstance which could be suggested by their earnest desire for your Majesty's ease, comfort, and happiness; or to give assurances which would impose upon them a restraint incompatible with the faithful discharge of the most important duty which they owe to your Majesty.

ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF MAKING FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO THE CATHOLICS.[1] BY LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Most Secret.

The objection in principle to any alteration of the Test Laws may be stated to be, that it goes to shake the fundamental principles of our two great Constitutional settlements—the Reformation and the Revolution—that it is a surrender of those safeguards which have hitherto preserved our Establishments in Church and State; and, if extended to the higher offices, as well as seats in Parliament, seems inconsistent in principle with the Protestant limitation of the Crown.

The objection in policy is, that a change of the nature in question, made in favour of a sect from whose exertions the Constitution has not lately derived any particular support, may alarm and disgust the most attached friends of the Establishment; whilst it may afford but an imperfect satisfaction to the

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[1] This and the following paper, though wide apart in point of dates, I could do no other than place together, the second being a reply to the first. Were there not abundant internal evidence pointing to Lord Castlereagh as the author of that first, we should find that it is the identical document to which the animadversions of Mr. Webber's correspondent apply. He follows the same line of argument, and even adopts expressions used by Lord Castlereagh, whose observations on the Catholic question were, he says, prepared fifteen years earlier than he was then writing (1816). The observations themselves show that they were committed to paper after the Union; so that we cannot be far wrong in assuming that they were penned in 1801.

Catholics, whose natural jealousy of the Protestant Establishments and bigoted attachment to their own religion will probably preserve them in a state of political separation, and still keep alive a struggle between the sects, upon the principle of separate interests.

The statement to be opposed to this is, whether it is probable (the general state of Europe considered) that the Protestants will either feel themselves enabled or disposed to uphold against the Catholics for any number of years the present principle of Exclusion; and, if not, whether it is wise, when the world is at issue upon greater and more dangerous principles, to retain the grounds of contest in their fullest extent, on which the State is at present committed against the whole body of the Catholics, supported in their pretensions by a great and growing proportion of the Protestants themselves. It is this latter consideration that seems almost to decide the question; and, if the concession is sooner or later to be made, the state of the Catholic power on the continent at this day does not seem to enjoin delay, whilst the nature of the political contest in which we are engaged makes it desirable, as far as we can, without essentially weakening the State, to get rid of sectarian struggles at home.

In looking to the detail of the question, and how it can be argued, although we may be prepared with our decision, yet we must feel it no easy task, in discussion, to call in question the policy of the Bill of Rights, or to justify a departure from the principle of the Revolution. There is, perhaps, no other way of contending against so broad a constitutional argument as may be stated against you, from that period, than by taking up a still broader principle; namely, that, although our Constitution reverences the principles which have governed, and the provisions which have effected, the establishment of our liberties at certain memorable eras, and at none more than the Revolution, yet that nothing in our system is absolutely unchangeable; that, the public good being the only consideration, the entire question of means must always be open to the supreme power of the Legislature; that the principle of Catholic exclusion, as acted upon at the Revolution, was only the means—the liberties of the people and the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State the end—to which that measure was directed. If that exclusion has ceased to be necessary to the security of our liberties and to the stability of the State, inasmuch as the necessity of exclusion at all is in itself a misfortune, it may be laid aside without shaking the principles then contended for, as it may, and must be, resumed, should circumstances again render it of the same expediency as it was at the period alluded to.

The change of circumstances may thus be strongly and truly stated. At the period of the Revolution, the See of Rome was in full authority, and the unceasing efforts of the Catholic powers on the continent were steadily and systematically directed to the establishment of Popery within these realms. Instead of a family on the throne attached to the principles of the Reformation and to the preservation of the Church establishment, we had a succession of Princes playing the game of our enemies, aiming at absolute power, and favouring Popery, as the instrument best suited to their purpose. To remedy the danger from the throne, the succession was altered; to defend the Constitution, at a moment of struggle, from its enemies, numerous at home and powerfully supported from abroad, the principle of exclusion, taken up at the Reformation, was at the Revolution fortified; and in Ireland, where the danger was most pressing, it was followed up in Queen Anne's reign by every penal measure which could be devised, to break down the property, and, of course, to reduce the authority of the Catholic body.

Circumstances have since so far altered as to induce a marked change of policy in the government of that branch of the empire where Catholic authority can alone afford any reasonable ground of jealousy to the State. Not only all restrictions on the industry of that sect and their means of acquiring property have been taken off, but important constitutional privileges have been extended to them, in which the British Catholics have not been included. They now, therefore, are become a powerful body in the empire, in number not less than three millions, growing fast into wealth, and of course into local influence, and already in possession of a considerable proportion of political consequence. The question then is—circumstanced as the empire is in wealth and population, circumstanced as it is with relation to the continent, and united, as it *now is*, into one kingdom, can you safely permit their numbers and their property to work their natural effects in the usual channels of the Constitution? Can you continue them precisely in their present predicament? or have you the means of throwing them back to the point of depression they stood in at the commencement of the century?

Were an abstract decision to be made on the preference to be given to one of these three schemes of policy, unconnected with any consideration arising out of the public temper, I am inclined to think that an adherence to the present arrangement would be decidedly less expedient than either of the other courses—firstly, because I am persuaded it cannot be permanent in its nature, and that it only leads to one of the other two; and, secondly, because so long as it is persevered in, that portion of the United Kingdom will be kept in a perpetual state of irritation and contest on a constitutional and religious question, whilst the party opposed to the State will every day be gaining authority in proportion as they acquire wealth, and, if we may judge from experience, rapidly gaining supporters amongst the Protestants themselves.

If, then, the present arrangement is rather provisional than conclusive in itself, and if it is of all courses the worst, on a point so much calculated to excite the public feeling, to pursue a fluctuating and indefinite policy, which of the other systems ought to be taken up? Can we, without a new struggle and a necessity more distinct and pressing than what at present exists, either justify in principle, or reconcile the Protestant body to inflict anew upon the Catholics, the penalties and forfeitures which the temper of the times has so lately removed? or can we think it possible, in cool blood, to reduce them to their former poverty and weakness? and yet nothing else will enable us to act upon the principle of exclusion with any prospect even of temporary repose.

The Union being now accomplished, and the establishments of the empire being placed upon the natural support of a correspondent population, it is worth considering, so long as the continental game is not played against us upon a religious principle, whether, in suffering the sectarian authority to operate *within* rather than without the Constitution, the danger is not diminished? Should it be thought that the dissenting interests of the empire at large (the Catholics being so admitted) have not weight, through their lawful operation, to shake the establishment, there can be no question that, in a state of exclusion, they are more naturally open to an alliance with Jacobinism, the enemy of the present day, than in a state of comprehension.

I own, I think the Union has afforded us the means of trying this experiment with less risk than seems to attach to an opposite line of conduct. If it succeeds, it will relieve us from great embarrassment—if it fails, the evil will, in time, as the accomplishment of Irish independence has already done, work out its own cure. The safety of the State must always rest upon the attachment of the great mass of its proprietors, who are attached to its establishments; and, as it did at the Revolution, when the necessity is felt, it will not fail to accomplish its own preservation.

There is, perhaps, an additional circumstance, which has grown out of the present times, that may render a system of comprehension less hazardous in itself than formerly. The arrangement of the future representation for Ireland in the

United Parliament, which is in itself a mild reform, connected with the apprehension generally entertained at the present moment of any species of innovation, which gives greater latitude to the operation of the democratic principle, has, amongst all rational men, altogether laid asleep the question of Parliamentary Reform. This, in itself, may be considered as an important accession of security and strength; and, if it shall enable the State, more firmly consolidated, to adopt a line of conduct towards the sectarists of less distrust, and thereby to put an end to questions affecting the constitutional rights of large classes of the community, Jacobinism will be more effectually deprived of any other than its natural allies.

In considering what principle of concession should be acted upon towards the Catholics, a doubt may arise whether it ought not to be confined to the right of sitting in Parliament; at least, it may be held that it should not extend to the higher offices of the State; as there seems an incongruity in the Crown, necessarily Protestant, being liable to be advised by Catholic Ministers. As far as the question affects the Catholics, our error, perhaps, has hitherto been yielding piecemeal, rather than upon system. In leaving an obvious ground of struggle behind, we have always encouraged demand, rather than attained the only end, with a view to which the concession had been made. If the principle now to be acted upon is comprehension, not exclusion, it is scarcely worth while to make an exception of the nature in question: so long as the King, who chooses the Ministers, is Protestant, as the great mass of the population is Protestant, and the complexion of Parliament must naturally be Protestant, I see little, if any, probability of a Catholic being called to his Majesty's counsels; or, if it should occur, I see much less probability of his being enabled to exert any influence which could be prejudicial to the Establishment.

Under this view of the subject, there appears no incongruity, so long as your Church is Protestant, in limiting the Crown to Protestants, at the same time that you remove the bar to a Catholic standing in a confidential relation to the Crown; a Protestant monarch, controlled by a Protestant Parliament, is not likely to give to his counsels a Catholic complexion; the Protestant limitation may be retained, as it relates to the Crown without producing any greater jealousy than is incidental to a Protestant established Church; but a personal disability as to office, on account of *religion*, is precisely the present ground of complaint, and is calculated to keep alive the same species of contest which it is our object to get rid of, and without an adequate motive.

A strong objection certainly lies in principle against admitting Catholics within the pale of the Constitution, as you thereby, in a certain degree, may admit a foreign jurisdiction. The Spiritual authority of the See of Rome is alleged necessarily to carry with it a portion of temporal power, and that no good Catholic can altogether separate them. This formerly was a substantial and not a visionary danger: but, at this day, the degree of authority which could by possibility be exerted is in itself very trifling, and the Court of Rome still less interested in employing it to our prejudice.

Should the measure of concession be decided on, the advantages of its proceeding from Government will naturally suggest themselves. Much benefit might arise from the boon being attributable to that settlement under which we are hereafter to live. It would make the Catholics in Ireland feel that their exclusion has been the necessary consequence of a separate Constitution, and that their advantages have arisen out of an incorporation with Great Britain. It is idle to hope that Dissenters of any description can ever be so zealously attached subjects as those who are of the established religion; but the question is, what system, without hazarding the powers of the State itself, is best calculated, if not warmly to attach at least to disarm the hostility of those classes in the community, who cannot be got rid of, and must be governed. This latter consideration is of most pressing necessity with regard to Ireland. That kingdom must, in fact, be considered as a country of sectarists; and, if we are to indulge an expectation that it may be redeemed from its present miseries, it must be by the adoption of some system, which, without relaxing the energy of Government, shall relieve the public mind from its fundamental principles of perpetual struggle.

Unless the power and stability of the United Government shall afford the means in safety of adopting some means of compromise amongst the contending factions, the difficulty of governing the country will rapidly increase, as every year adds materially to the relative importance of the dissenting interests. If the same internal struggle continues, Great Britain will derive little beyond an increase of expense from the Union. If she is to govern Ireland upon a garrison principle, perhaps, in abolishing the separate Parliament, she has parted as well with her most effectual means as with her most perfect justification. In uniting with Ireland, she has abdicated the colonial relation; and, if hereafter that country is to prove a resource rather than a burden to Great Britain, an effort must be made to govern it through the public mind.

It is obvious that the government of Ireland has difficulties incidental to it which will require a much greater proportion of ministerial attention than Scotland did subsequent to the Union. Scotland, at that day, was thinly inhabited, the people poor and industrious, and of habits so peculiarly regular, that, with the exception of the two rebellions, which sprang from a feeling of attachment to the exiled family, it may be said to have almost governed itself. Ireland, on the contrary, is highly populous; acquires wealth more rapidly than civilization: it is inhabited by dissenters from the Establishment, split into factions, and those factions committed against each other, with all the rancour of past injuries, as well as present distinctions. The law is imperfectly obeyed, and very ill administered by the magistrates, who are too frequently partisans rather than judges—in short, the tranquillity of the country is alone preserved, even in the degree in which it exists, by the perpetual intervention of the hand of Government, exercising the most summary powers.

Gradually to correct these evils will require the persevering attention of a firm and impartial Government. The Union has removed a great impediment to a better system; but the Union will do little in itself, unless it be followed up. In addition to the steady application of authority in support of the laws, I look to the measure which is the subject of the above observations, to an arrangement of tithes, and to a provision for the Catholic and Dissenting Clergy; calculated in its regulations to bring them under the influence of the State, as essentially necessary to mitigate, if it cannot extinguish, faction; to place the Established Church on its most secure foundation; and to give the necessary authority, as well as stability, to the Government itself.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONCESSIONS TO CATHOLICS.

Mr. Webber to Lord Castlereagh.

Dominick Street, Dublin, December 9, 1816.

My Lord—Finding that your Lordship has set off for London, I take the liberty of forwarding with this the tract to which the Attorney-general's letter referred. Though printed, it never was published, and, I think, will be found to be a sound and well considered argument. On reading over his letter the other day, he felt with me that he might have expressed his dissent from some of the views of the memorial in terms more consonant to the sentiments he sincerely entertains for the writer; and, indeed, when, in obedience to your Lordship's wish, I transmitted that letter, I was very sensible that, notwithstanding the previous intimation I gave of its being very strongly expressed, I was committing myself, for excuse for doing so, to the liberality of your Lordship's mind, and the belief, I trust, it entertains of the very sincere and unqualified respect by which I am actuated. I am, indeed, sensible that the subject has great excitement for me—being under a decided and firm conviction that the success of the measure suspended over us must sooner or later effect the subversion of the English settlement of Ireland, and the ruin of those who shall not be able to disconnect themselves from it in time, through a train of degradations and miseries perhaps unparalleled in the annals of Europe. My sense of this danger induces me further to avail myself of the kind encouragement of your Lordship's note, under a due consideration of the value of your Lordship's time, and I propose, as soon as I can get it transcribed by a safe hand, to lay before your Lordship a sketch of the view I have taken of the entire subject, in a series of distinct propositions, with notes. If what I shall suggest in this manner shall excite any doubt as to its foundation in fact or reasoning, which your Lordship would have the goodness to intimate to me, I think I shall be able to give a satisfactory explanation of what I shall advance. But, if your Lordship shall wish to be spared any further trouble on this subject, the slightest hint will have the effect of doing so.

With very sincere respect, I am, &c.,

DANIEL W. WEBBER.

——— *to Mr. Webber.*[1]

Flood Hall, September 6, 1816.

My dear Webber—I have read Lord Castlereagh's observations on the Catholic question, which, though prepared fifteen years ago, under very different circumstances both as to external and internal danger, as well as to the state of public opinion, I am to consider as adopted and approved by him at the present day. I have therefore considered them with the deference and respect due to the opinion of so eminent, so able, and now so experienced a Statesman as Lord Castlereagh; and as I cannot doubt that they comprise not only the very best, but everything of any weight, that can be urged in favour of the measure, I confess that my conviction is now complete, without a doubt remaining, that it is a measure resting entirely on false principles, founded in erroneous political views, and which has grown out of the political distempers of the times.

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[1] This paper is from the pen of the then Attorney-General of Ireland. The notes are by Mr. Webber.

Lord Castlereagh admits, with candour and like a Statesman, that the measure has to oppose the broad constitutional argument of "calling in question the Bill of Rights, shaking the principles of our two great constitutional settlements, the Reformation and the Revolution, recognised and confirmed by both Acts of Union, and involving an inconsistency in principle with the Protestant limitation of the Crown." Great and insurmountable as these obstacles appear to us, Lord Castlereagh is of opinion that they ought to be surmounted, and he founds that opinion upon grounds partly historical and partly political and theoretical; and, as it is chiefly the former ground, namely, the change of circumstances and of public opinion since the period of the Revolution, on which he founds his opinion in favour of a change in the constitution of the Government as settled at that period, I shall, in the first instance, apply myself to the historical part of the argument.

The historical grounds on which Lord Castlereagh is of opinion that Roman Catholic exclusion from political offices and situations should be done away, are :—that there no longer exists a Pretender to the throne; that the power of the Pope has dwindled to insignificance; that the continental powers no longer speculate on establishing Popery in these countries; but, principally that, by the repeal of the Popery laws and other causes, the Roman Catholics are in a gradual progress of acquiring landed and political influence, which, when acquired, will be inconsistent with a principle of exclusion.

To the first of these grounds the answer is, that Roman Catholic exclusion did not grow out of the dangers to which he alludes; it grew out of the Reformation and is coeval with it. Roman Catholic exclusion from all offices in the State, through which the Executive Government of the State is administered, is as old as the reign of Henry VIII.; their exclusion from the House of Commons in England as the 5th of Elizabeth; and from both Houses of Parliament as 30th Charles II.; and it is remarkable that the last law of Roman Catholic exclusion, and the strongest of all, that[1] by which they are, as Roman Catholics, excluded, *eo nomine*, and the office forfeited, if possessed by a Roman Catholic—I mean, the settlement of the Crown at the Revolution, is yet the only law of Catholic exclusion which Lord Castlereagh proposes to retain; and yet that is the only law of Catholic exclusion which might seem to be founded on the dangers to which he alludes.[2]

With respect to the gradual and progressive acquisition of wealth and of landed property and political influence by Roman Catholics (an argument much relied on by others as well as by Lord Castlereagh), the answer is, that the repeal of the Popery Laws has not, except by admitting them into the profession of the law, afforded to them any means of acquiring wealth which they did not before possess; and it is certain that, since their admission into that profession, now above twenty years, not one individual has made a fortune in it. It is true that they have acquired the right of purchasing estates in land, and that several purchases have been made by them; but, within the same period, Roman Catholic estates have been sold, and have been purchased by Protestants;[3] so that, on an account in this respect to be settled, the balance, it is probable, would not be much on either side. Certain it is that no transmutation of either the landed or the moneyed property of Ireland from the Protestants to the Roman Catholics has as yet taken place; and, if the fact be (which seems very problematical) that there is such a gradual progressive change of property, it must of necessity be very slow; a century, or little less, will be little enough to allow for any great or palpable transmutation of the landed or moneyed property of the country. But, even supposing that we are in a gradual and slow progress to a state of things which, should it arrive, might be inconsistent with the present constitution of our Government, ought we to change the constitution of our Government, which, the argument admits, is suitable to and consistent with the state of things now existing, in order to make it suitable to and consistent with a state of things which does not exist, which possibly may exist hereafter, but which also may never exist? Would not this be contrary to all sound policy, and would it not be quite contrary to the constitutional policy of England, which never yet made any constitutional alteration, but as necessity and the pressure of existing circumstances compelled it—never upon speculation and theory? and does not this argument, besides assuming the very problematical fact that the Roman Catholics are in a progress of acquiring a preponderance in wealth and political influence, assume[1] this fact also, still more problematical, that every Roman Catholic who, in the progress of a century to come, shall acquire wealth, and his descendants, will still continue to be Roman Catholics, to be the dupes[2] of an antiquated system of imposture and superstition, of which the educated and enlightened part of the body are half ashamed at the present day, and which, there is every reason to hope and believe, they would abandon, did not pride and politics retain them?—the contrary is far the more probable.

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[1] The only one.

[2] All the rest were antecedent to the abdication.

[3] At this time, one of the most considerable purchases made by a Catholic is about to be purchased by a Protestant: the title is before counsel for the purpose.

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[1] This assumption arises from one of the many fallacies that beset this question, namely, from arguing Catholic exclusion as personal, instead of as being annexed to the adherence to certain proscribed tenets and doctrines—those tenets and doctrines having, by long and continued experience, been found irreconcilably hostile to a Protestant establishment in Church and State.

[2] Within these few weeks, the son of the wealthiest Catholic in Ireland in the commercial line read his recantation, and, to my knowledge, one of the greatest Catholic agitators of late times, in a will lately made, directed his sons to be brought up in the Established Religion.

The historical grounds, therefore, on which Lord Castlereagh supposes that the public mind has gradually undergone a change, and that Roman Catholic exclusion cannot be longer upheld, are not, with submission to him, the grounds on which a change in public opinion has taken place, or that have given birth to the question, or the proposition of changing in this particular the constitution of our Government, as settled, we trust, finally at the Revolution. A change, I fear, indeed, has taken place in Lord Castlereagh's mind, and in the minds of many others, on the subject, but, I cannot admit, in the public mind; or that the change is the natural and gradual result of a change of times and circumstances: it was sudden, within my own time, and perfectly in my own recollection—perhaps the only advantage that I can boast over Lord Castlereagh on this or any other subject is, that I have had several years earlier and longer experience of this country and of the times than his Lordship, and which, I conceive, gives me a considerable advantage over him in this part of the case. The great change which took place in the opinions of a large proportion of the public commenced about the year 1778, made a rapid progress in a few years from thence, and spread to a very wide extent. It no doubt grew out of the revolution in America[1] and the political discussions in and out of Parliament which that revolution and the measures which led to it had occasioned. In America, a Government was established on purely republican principles—a Government in which every office in the State is open to every citizen, and every citizen alike eligible to every office—in which representation is founded on almost universal suffrage, and all power considered as flowing from the people, in which there is no national religion, no established Church—forming a direct and striking contrast to our Government, which is formed on principles of exclusion in all its parts, in which there is yet a national religion and an established Church, under which all power is considered as flowing from the Crown. Such a Government being adopted by a people whom we had considered as a portion of ourselves and reduced to practice—the theory of it so simple, so plain, so captivating to the passions and so congenial to the feelings of mankind, excited very generally a strong prepossession in favour of republican principles—every man who read the newspapers of the day, and the comments and essays with which they teemed, not only became a politician but a convert to those principles, which appeared so congenial to common sense as well as to his own feelings, and became more or less alienated from the constitution of his own country, which he had never studied, and which is too complicated in its mechanism to be easily understood, and which rejects those republican principles which appeared to him as so many self-evident truths.

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[1] Yes, the American question undoubtedly was its origin. That question was the great opposition topic of the day. From its nature, it was necessarily supported by reasonings on first principles: their success gave them strength and popularity, and prepared the public mind throughout Europe for those excesses in principle and practice which have caused such evils, and which have experienced a temporary defeat.

Accordingly, you may remember that, in 1783, the Grand Jury of the County of Dublin adopted a resolution to invite all the other counties in Ireland to send delegates to a National Congress, to be formed for the purpose of revising and reforming the constitution. Lord Castlereagh cannot forget the Dungannon meetings of the volunteers, and the resolutions of the Northern Whig Club, at which he, then a very young man, presided; at all which meetings every sentiment expressed, and every resolution adopted, was the result of the new republican principles, which were considered as the true and only criterion by which our constitution and that of every Government was to be tried, and to which, if it did not conform, it was necessarily to be altered or subverted. By this test the constitution of the House of Commons, both in England and Ireland, was brought to trial, and instantly condemned by almost universal consent.

Nothing can better illustrate the position which I am maintaining than the measure of Parliamentary Reform, which was adopted with so much ardour and such clearness of conviction by many of the best meaning persons in the country, though also made the pretext of revolutionists and rebels to overset the Government, and adopted by faction in Parliament to harass and displace the administration ; and which was nothing more, under the specious name of Reform, but to alter the constitution of one part of the Legislature on republican principles—a measure which, Lord Castlereagh observes, is gone to sleep, and which is so, which is really abandoned ; not for the reasons, with submission to Lord Castlereagh, which he assigns, but because the republican principles on which alone that measure was founded have, in this instance and for this time, been disproved and refuted, and the fallacy detected of calling that reform, which is but the alteration in part of the British Constitution on the model of republicanism.

Under the influence of those principles, in 1791 or 1792, the society of United Irishmen was formed in Ireland, on the principle, since avowed, of changing the Government to a Republic on the model of the American. Under the influence of the same principles, the French Revolution had taken place, which for a time gave such *éclat* to those principles, that Mr. Fox publicly avowed his admiration of the sublime structure which the political philosophers of France were erecting on the foundation of these Rights of Man principles: and about the same period Paine published his Rights of Man and Age of Reason, in which he maintained that, in these countries, the *public mind* had outgrown the British Constitution; that common sense could no longer endure that the first and greatest office in the State, the executive magistracy, and which also constitutes one of the three estates of the Legislature, should be exclusively confined to one individual of one particular family, in exclusion of every other citizen, and that it should pass by inheritance, like an estate in houses or lands; that another branch of the Legislature, and forming the Court of *dernier ressort*, in all matters of law and equity, should be composed of and confined to a body of nobility, the great majority of whom hold their seats by hereditary descent, and are Legislators and Judges by birthright—that the third estate of the Legislature should be chosen by modes of election, excluding the great body of the people, partial, capricious, and contrary to the Rights of Man, by which he supposed that all have an equal right to share in the administration of every part of the Government. Common sense, he contended, could not endure, and would no longer submit to so preposterous a constitution of Government as that of Great Britain, and the time had arrived for doing it away. Under the operation of all these delusions, we were involved in a rebellion in Ireland, and England herself, with some difficulty, escaped another.

By these events, however, men's eyes began to be a little opened, and although they were so far set right as to be convinced that these principles, pushed to their full extent, must be subversive of all liberty and all government, and that the Constitution of Great Britain was not to be exchanged for that of the United States of America, still a great many adhered to the delusion of those principles, so far as to believe that a partial application of them to the constitution of our Government would be salutary and an improvement of it, and therefore espoused the two measures with the plausible names of *Parliamentary Reform* and *Catholic Emancipation*, each of them purporting to alter that part of the constitution of our Government to which it applied on Republican and theoretic principles.

This I submit as the true historical grounds of that change in public opinion which did take place, and not those to which Lord Castlereagh ascribes it; and what is, I think, demonstrative of it is, that, for the last two or three years, the public opinion is changing back to its former station, and the new principles are falling into disrepute, Parliamentary Reform actually abandoned or exploded,[1] and Catholic Emancipation rather on the decline, certainly not progressive; whereas, if those principles grew naturally and necessarily out of the change of times and circumstances, they must necessarily be much more prevalent now than at any former period.

Having thus examined the historical grounds on which Lord Castlereagh would justify so important a change in the constitution of our Government, I shall proceed to examine the political or theoretic part of the argument.

Lord Castlereagh considers the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from political offices and situations as a grievance, a misfortune of so heavy a kind as nothing but necessity can justify: he considers it as a temporary and provisional part of our Constitution, as a means of preserving our Constitution in Church and State; and, assuming, or rather hoping, that exclusion is no longer necessary, he justifies the experiment of doing it away; and this Lord Castlereagh calls opposing a still broader principle to the broad principle of sustaining an established Government. A great fallacy in this argument is the overrating the supposed grievance of Roman Catholic exclusion:[2] if it deserves to be taken into consideration at all, when the question turns on the alteration of a settled and established Government.

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[1] Since this letter was written, the justice of this view has been strongly illustrated by the Resolutions of the great aggregate meeting of the Munster Catholics, held at Cork, one of which stated Catholic Emancipation to be illusory without a Reform in Parliament. I speak from recollection, but I am sure that was the purport, if not the very words.

[2] Still necessary to keep in mind that the *exclusion* is not personal, but attached to tenets voluntarily adopted and adhered to—conscience, the motive of a few, the pretext of the many—party prevalence, and the ulterior views connected with it, being the great principle of contention.

The political offices in Ireland from which Roman Catholics are excluded are only those enumerated in the Act of 1793. If that exclusion were removed, a Roman Catholic, or a Protestant, to be even a candidate for these offices, must be of a certain rank and station in society. The great mass of the people, Protestant as well as Catholic, is as much excluded in fact as Roman Catholics are by law from those offices—they are not within the possibility of their reach—they are not in their contemplation—they are not the objects of their thoughts or their desires, still less of their expectations. In Ireland, of five millions of Roman Catholics, there are not two hundred who would entertain a thought of obtaining any of those offices, and, amongst those, how many would be disappointed!—how many (as is the case now among those who are by law eligible) would not desire, would not accept, those offices, with the trouble and responsibility that belong to them! 4,999,900 of those 5,000,000 would not even think or speculate on the possibility of ever obtaining one of those offices or situations; so that the measure would neither confer a boon upon, nor remove a grievance from, the great body of the Roman Catholics, and would do nothing whatever for that class of them which governs the body—I mean, the Priesthood—so that the utmost extent of the benefit to result from this measure,[1] for which we are to incur such risks and violate first principles, is to gratify the ambition of such, and so many of one or say two hundred individuals of the whole Catholic body, as might chance to obtain some of those offices for which the argument erroneously supposes that five millions are looking up with ardent and anxious expectation. The boon is really none. Eligibility to those offices, as to the mass of the people, is mockery. The grievance of Roman Catholic exclusion, as to the body at large, is all imaginary, but clearly is not to be put into the scale where the question is on the foundation of a Government, still less on the alteration of one settled and established.

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[1] This almost always suggests to a hasty view, or a mind distracted by other great concerns, that, because the apparent subject of the exclusion and the professed objects of Parliament are thus limited, the risk and danger consequent on removal of it must be trivial also. A great and dangerous fallacy this! The direct and avowed objects comparatively are trivial, but the remote and real ones are no less than the Church Establishment and the political power of the country, which would necessarily follow, and, by means subversive of the English settlement, through sufferings unparalleled, except when before attempted; neither could this be effectually checked, nor would it be long watched by an English Government, if at all.

But I should apprehend that Lord Castlereagh, as I collect from a subsequent part of the argument, where he speaks of this measure as putting an end to questions on the constitutional rights of large classes of his Majesty's subjects, does not reject altogether the claim of the Roman Catholics as a claim of right, which is indeed the basis of all the clamour and of most of the declamation in and out of Parliament, by which this revolutionary measure has been supported; and the delusion with respect to it has chiefly arisen from the belief, founded on the Republican or Rights of Man principle, that their claim is a claim of right, and our Constitution, in this particular, politically erroneous, and a wrong. As to this ground of claim, I shall content myself with referring to the printed pamphlet on Catholic Emancipation by your friend, in which it is discussed and fully refuted, and which applies to a great part of Lord Castlereagh's argument.

Having, therefore, examined the nature and magnitude of the grievance which Lord Castlereagh is impressed with as so weighty, or as such a wrong and injustice as to justify a revolution in the Government, I shall proceed to examine what Lord Castlereagh styles the broader principle, on which he maintains that such a revolution should be hazarded. He states it truly to be a broad principle "to sustain a constituted Government as it is," but when, he assumes part of the constitution of that Government to be an intolerable grievance, or a system of error, and a wrong, in either case, the broader principle, according to him, is to consider the end and purpose of that part of the Constitution; and, if that purpose can be effected without the grievance, it ought to be removed. I object to Lord Castlereagh's broad principle, that it is not broad enough—the still broader principle is "the end and object for which governments themselves are instituted." Civil governments, howsoever constituted, and by whomsoever, or by how many or how few to be administered, are but the means, the end and object, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the subjects of them, and the welfare of the whole body politic. If our Government, as at present constituted, in which Roman Catholic exclusion forms a very principal part, did not govern the Roman Catholic as justly and as well as the Protestant—if he had not equally with the Protestant the benefit of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Trial by Jury—if he was not exactly in the same degree protected in his person, his property, and his character, and in the free exercise of his religion, I should be foremost to require that a radical alteration should be made in the constitution of it, as not answering and fulfilling the great end of its institution—but, being convinced that it does so almost to perfection, certainly beyond the example of any other government, I must protest against making an alteration in its constitution, which there is no principle to justify but that of making it fulfil the ends for which it was instituted: but to alter it when it perfectly fulfils these ends, merely to gratify the ambition of individuals, who, according to the Constitution, are disqualified[1] to share in the administration of it, is to adopt as a principle that governments are instituted for the gratification of those who are to govern, and not for the general welfare of the subjects—in other words, it is the Republican or Rights of Man principle that all the subjects should share in the administration of the Government. I have, therefore, opposed to Lord Castlereagh's broad principle a principle still broader, bottomed on experience, and sanctioned by the authority of all legitimate authors who have written on the constitution of governments; for they invariably hold that, when a government is settled and established (the great desideratum in a State), and it fulfils the ends and purposes of its institution, nothing can justify an alteration in the *slightest* part of its constitution[1]—such is the danger and such the mischief of unsettling the public mind and of removing ancient landmarks.

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[1] *i. e.* choose to disqualify themselves.

But, if Lord Castlereagh be in error, when he considers Catholic exclusion as so severe a grievance, he is still more so when he supposes that it has ceased to be any longer necessary to the preservation of our Constitution in Church and State, or that it can be, or ever was, considered a temporary and provisional part of our Constitution. Lord Castlereagh seems to be under the common error of confounding our political or constitutional code with that code of laws which was enacted in Ireland after the Revolution, and known by the name of the Penal Code, or the Popery Laws, a code which, I admit, was temporary, and founded on the state and danger of the times, and which the Legislature of Ireland thought it safe and expedient to repeal finally and totally in the year 1793; but the Constitutional Code, as settled at the Revolution, by which the adherents of the Church of Rome were excluded from every branch of the Government, and the Government made Protestant in all its parts, was and ought to be deemed a final settlement, perfecting the principle which had been coeval with the Reformation, and which, from that time down to the present times, had been always held essential to the preservation and safety of our civil and ecclesiastical establishments—that exclusion of Roman Catholics from the State, not adopted on the ground of their being a sect entertaining religious opinions different from those of the Established

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[1] See Vattel, &c.

Church, but as being members of a great body politic in the State, of great antiquity, of high pretensions, founded on principles of intolerance and despotism, holding a dominion over the minds of its members far exceeding that possessed by any government over its subjects, irreconcilably hostile to our Protestant Establishment, which it considers as an heretical usurpation of its rights, and which it believes, as matter of faith and religion, will be done away, and the true Church established in its place—and which so essentially contradistinguishes that Church and its adherents from all other religious sects and from all other Dissenters from the Established Church. Can it ever be wise, can it ever be expedient, to select the members of such a body politic to compose a part of the few who are to administer the government of these countries?—can they possibly be as eligible guardians and trustees of the Protestant religion, and the Protestant Church Establishment, and the Protestant Limitation of the Crown as Protestants? and should not the selection, on Lord Castlereagh's own broad principle, be made with a view to the safety of our Establishments in Church and State, and with no other view whatever? Must not, therefore, this part of our Constitution be as permanent as the existence and continuance of that body politic in the State, the Roman Catholic Church, and was that ever doubted until the Rights of Man principles had become the fashion of the day?

But Lord Castlereagh assumes that we cannot remain as we are; that we must re-enact the Popery laws, or must alter our Constitution; either he thinks preferable to standing as we are at present. Lord Castlereagh either supposes that our Constitution, as now framed, is so run down and so out of fashion in the public mind that it must be given up, or that it is radically wrong and erroneous in its construction; in which case, I admit that it ought to be altered. If the former, Lord Castlereagh mistakes Jacobin clamour and party declamation for public opinion. Protestant sentiment and Protestant feeling, in both England and Ireland, are strongly the other way. Men's minds have been perplexed on the subject by the declamation of party and the political jargon of the times; and who must not distrust his own opinion, when such a statesman as Lord Castlereagh maintains the doctrine that the Constitution ought to be altered? But I would ask Lord Castlereagh whether he is not convinced in his conscience, if he should now take an opposite part and exert his abilities in the House of Commons to oppose the measure as a revolutionary project on the principles I have suggested, and which I suppose him to have sincerely adopted, that he would effectually defeat the measure, and soon leave Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby in a minority of their mere political partisans?

But, suppose public opinion more in favour of the measure than it is, must not the question, with legislators and statesmen, still be whether that opinion be right, whether it be well founded or not. If it be not so, surely Lord Castlereagh would be the last to sacrifice any part of the Constitution to clamour or to an erroneous public opinion; he would maintain the Constitution till public opinion, if he believed it wrong, became right. It is notorious that we have a party—I fear, not a small one—in the United Kingdom, whose opinion is decided in favour of Revolution, of a total subversion of our Government; who would have no King, no aristocracy, no Church. Suppose this party greatly to increase, their numbers to be ever so many or their clamour ever so loud, Lord Castlereagh would maintain the Constitution against them or perish with it; he would not inquire after public opinion; he would maintain the Constitution, unless he was convinced that it was radically vicious; so, as to changing it in part, clamour or public opinion are not to be regarded: what, then, does Lord Castlereagh mean, when he maintains that we can not remain as we are? Does he mean that the Roman Catholics will rebel, if we do not alter the Constitution? If he means that, he never was under a greater error: but, if he was even right, should we suffer ourselves to be frightened out of our Constitution? Be assured, if Parliament come to a strong decision on the question, we shall hear as little in a year or two of Catholic Emancipation as we now do of Parliamentary Reform. We have conformed to the change of times and circumstances, and have repealed those temporary and provisional laws against the Roman Catholics which appeared no longer to be necessary, and we have placed them, in all respects, as subjects on the same footing with their Protestant fellow-subjects—that was the policy of the Act of 1793—it went even further, and admitted them into all offices which did not seem to be of a political nature, and which, it was conceived, they might hold without infringing on the principle that the Executive Government should be wholly Protestant. By that Act we may and ought to abide; but, should any danger render it necessary to repeal so much of it as confers the elective franchise on them,[1] or as admits them into any particular offices (but which does not, I think, exist), if Parliament would be firm and true to its trust, I should have no apprehension of the consequences of doing it.

But Lord Castlereagh says that Ireland must be governed through the *public mind.* If he means that Ireland must be governed justly and honestly, and in the same manner that Great Britain is governed, I fully subscribe to the proposition; but if he means that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are to continue a body of speculative politicians, and that the constitution of the Government is to be so modelled as to gratify their speculations, the proposition is visionary and untenable, and as dangerous as any of the doctrines of Thomas Paine. What will Lord Castlereagh call their public opinion, to which our Constitution is to conform so as to gratify them, when it has been already declared in that public body, which was long recognised as the organ of the opinion and sentiments of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and when it has been declared in print[1] by a prominent character of the body, that Catholic Emancipation (for they have their broad principle, too,) is but the means, not the end; that the end is not what Lord Castlereagh only means to give—offices in the State, seats in the Legislature, to the members of their body—no, it is to get rid of the intrusive Church, to open the corporations, and to transfer the political power of the State to the Roman Catholics? Surely, so long as the Catholics remain such, they cannot be reconciled to an exclusive Protestant Church erected on the overthrow of their own, to an exclusive Protestant succession to the Throne, and to that Protestant predominance that must ever attend our connexion with Protestant Great Britain; and which will be so great that Lord Castlereagh makes it a strong argument in favour of giving eligibility to office to the Roman Catholics, that, on account of it, they would have little chance of obtaining any of the offices to which they would be made eligible: so that the measure by which Ireland is to be governed through the public mind is by mocking the Roman Catholic body with eligibility to situations into which they are not to be elected.

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[1] It might be modified on the just and necessary principle of raising the qualification nearer to its original standard—most desirable on constitutional, political, and moral motives.

Is it not obvious that, if you will gain the Catholic mind, so as to govern Ireland through it, you must sacrifice the Protestant mind and the Protestant settlement; you must make the Government and the Church of Ireland exclusively Catholic?[2] We must govern Ireland by its present lawful Government, the best under which mankind ever had the happiness to live, and when necessary, we must enforce obedience to it; but, if steadily administered, when the political distemper which has visited our times, but which is wearing fast away, shall have altogether subsided, obedience to it will follow. The truth is, that the prevalence and the danger of the Jacobin principles have so impressed themselves on Lord Castlereagh's mind that, through the whole of his argument and view of the subject, he has yielded to, and is making, a compromise with Jacobinism itself. Thomas Paine maintains that there should be no exclusion at all in our Government, on the broad principle of the Rights of Man. Lord Castlereagh, to resist this, is ready to concede that Roman Catholic exclusion should be abolished, but will retain all the rest. Is not this Paine stopping short? Is it not a compromise with Jacobinism, and an application of Jacobin principles to the Anti-Jacobin Constitution of Great Britain? Can Lord Castlereagh, in this respect, distinguish the measure in question from that other from which in Ireland it never was separated—Parliamentary Reform? The one has died away,[1] so ought, and, I trust, will the other. The issue of the question is now almost in the

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[1] See that mass of scandalous and mischievous falsehood, "The Statement of the Penal Laws." This work has been recognised as their case by all the Catholic meetings, and as such disseminated and presented individually to the members of the Legislature.

[2] What would be the course pursued to effect that? The obstacles are great: the Coronation Oath—the Act of Union—the feelings of the English people. Proportional efforts must be made to remove them. A case so strong as to make the claim irresistible must be made. The Irish community must be made entirely Catholic: that must be done by

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forcing the Protestants to expatriate or conform. That—four counties perhaps excepted—will be effected partly by successive violences, for which excuses, as now, will always be found, but more effectually by the course taken in the time of James II.—the prosecution of chicane. For this they would have Catholic witnesses, Catholic juries, Catholic sheriffs, and Catholic judges. How, it will be asked, is this to be accomplished? A considerable proportion of the representation will give them the means. Some time, indeed, may first elapse before all this shall be accomplished. The greater the evil, the more accumulated and protracted will be the sufferings of this unhappy, abandoned race. The rest of the kingdom thus subdued, the four northern counties must fall in at least a considerable degree also. But where the protecting power of Great Britain? It would never have opportunity, if disposed, to act; for all this would be gradual, duly guarded by pretexts, and having partisans in Parliament to advocate and assist.

[1] Since this was written, it has revived, and in its former union.

hands of Lord Castlereagh; and his character, his situation, could save the Constitution. Should he abandon the measure, it would be no more thought of—Ireland is sick and weary of it—the old advocates of the measure are disgusted—silence alone, on the part of Lord Castlereagh, would go near to extinguish it.

The subject is not half exhausted, but really I am, and so long since must you be; but, as you desire to have my thoughts on Lord Castlereagh's argument, I have complied, and could not compress them into a smaller compass. I have no doubt, when the omissions and defects in what I have urged shall be supplied by your own reflections, you will feel that the best and dearest interests of your country call on you, in the situation in which you are now placed, to use your best exertions to save us from the danger impending over us. With affection, yours,

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NOMINATION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES.

A Suggestion submitted to a Roman Catholic Archbishop (Dr. Everard) respecting the Adjustment of the Relation between Government and the Roman Catholic Prelacy, in the event of full Enfranchisement.

In an amicable adjustment between the State and its Roman Catholic subjects, a claim of the Government to some reasonable security for the appointment of unexceptionable men to the Episcopal function would appear to be sanctioned not only by the reason of the thing, but also by the earliest and most universal usage.

In the *Droit Ecclesiastique* of the Abbé Fleury (i. 101) we have the following passage: "Dans les royaumes qui se formerent des débris de l'Empire Romain, il fallut avoir le consentement des princes, qui, voyant la grande autorité des Evêques sur les peuples de leurs nouvelles conquêtes, etoient jaloux de ne laisser élire que ceux qu'ils croyoient leur être fideles."

He remarks afterwards: "Le roi étoit averti de l'élection et de la confirmation—car il avoit toujours droit d'excluder ceux qui ne lui étoient pas agréables." (p. 104.)

It will, however, be as politic, on the part of Government, as it can be desirable to the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, so to limit the security thus authorized by prescription to the mere object of excluding improper men, as to leave no room for the most ignorant or the most prejudiced to imagine that Government had any wish generally to influence the choice. I say this limitation would be politic, because, in a state of established amity, Government might justly rely on the Roman Catholic Bishops, as sustainers of good order and promoters of loyalty, and would, of course, be interested by the most powerful considerations to keep the influence of the Roman Catholic Prelacy on the popular mind undiminished and unshaken.

This point then, so essential to all parties, being duly secured, it may be safely asserted that such a communication with Government, on the recurrence of each election, as would avoid the possibility of electing a suspected person, would be a matter which, instead of being deprecated, ought to be wished for by the heads of the Irish Roman Catholic Church. This opinion is given with unqualified confidence, because, without such a procedure, when circumstances make it possible, the cautionary measures enjoined by Holy Scripture, in the very instance in question, are not complied with.

The language of St. Paul is:[1] "Oportet episcopum irreprehensibilem esse—Oportet illum testimonium habere bonum ab iis qui foris sunt, ut non in opprobrium incidat et in laqueum diaboli." (1 Tim. iii. 2 and 7.) The observance of this rule might by circumstances be made impracticable. As long as Government repelled the Roman Catholic Prelacy, an inquiry whether any cloud of suspicion rested on an individual who was thought of for that station could hardly have been attempted.

[1] Writing for a Roman Catholic, I quote from the Vulgate.

But, when mutual good understanding shall leave perfect room for such a question being asked, how could it conscientiously be omitted?

A man accounted seditious or disloyal by the Government of the country could not be said "testimonium habere bonum ab iis qui *foris* sunt:" yet, whether an individual was or was not so accounted could only be ascertained by actual inquiry. Government, from its elevated post, sees and knows what those in lower situations cannot see or know. In what concerns loyalty or disloyalty, therefore, Government is the appropriate witness; consequently, everything that can be done to obtain a full testimony respecting an intended bishop is not done, if the chief quarter, from which information on one essential point may be obtained, is not resorted to.

Besides, would it not be desirable that Government itself should have no possible room for jealousy respecting Roman Catholic Bishops? The present dark veil, which is interposed between Government and the Roman Catholic Prelates, favours every monstrous suspicion on the part of the former respecting the latter; and the habit of suspecting can only be conquered by the suspected party coming forward into the light of day, and inviting the scrutiny from which it had been supposed to start back. To call, therefore, respectfully on Government to declare beforehand whether any unfavourable impression existed respecting the loyalty of the individual about to be chosen would be a measure of honest policy in the hoped-for circumstances, even though no demand for such a proceeding were made on the part of Government. But it may possibly be said that, if Government were thus called upon to declare its thoughts, there would be danger of its overstepping the intended limit, and thereby embarrassing, if not influencing, the electors.

This danger, I conceive, may be effectually averted by the strict definiteness of the question propounded. The point submitted to Government might simply be, "whether any matter-of-fact can be specified tending to prove the person in question unfit for the situation to which it was in contemplation to raise him?" The expediency of confining the inquiry to matter-of-fact appears supported by the obvious possibility of dislikes and prejudices, not only unfounded, but, it might be, founded on that which did honour to the party; whereas, to make statement of fact the single indispensable point would be to adopt a measure, which possibly might lead to the relief of injured innocence, but could never expose innocence to injury; which might signally befriend the character of the Roman Catholic Prelacy of Ireland, by keeping it immaculate, even in their view "qui foris sunt," but could never trench upon its independence, or lessen its respectability.

The security against abuse contained in the simple principle of adhering exclusively to fact will appear strong the more it is reflected on. The difficulty of fabricating a story which would fit the party—the infamy of forging one which would not fit—the moral impossibility that Government should think of any such expedient—the absence of all motive which could induce the most profligate politician to make an attempt in its nature so unmanageable, and its probable issue so desperate—these and countless other reasons recommend, as the safest possible stipulation, that Government, previously to every election of a Roman Catholic Bishop, shall be respectfully desired to say whether it knows any fact which tends to disqualify the candidate, and that such fact, if not invalidated to the satisfaction of Government, shall stop the nomination.

The method of conducting this occasional intercourse between Government and the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates could involve no difficulty, if the principle were once admitted and approved of by both. The eligibility may be shown on the following grounds:

1. It involves no veto. A veto implies a summary, authoritative rejection. The nature of the power is expressed by the

term, and requires no comment. A definite matter-of-fact objection is a thing of quite another character. What danger a simple veto might involve, I need not ask. Individuals might suffer by it; and no prudence in electing could infallibly prevent its possibly painful effects. But the mere room for objecting on strictly specified ground would expose to no operation of caprice or prejudice. It might serve to dispel the clouds which accidentally might obscure a worthy character, by affording an opportunity for explanation; but more probably due attention to the choice of persons would keep it, in point of fact, a dead letter for ever. Being, then, so essentially different in nature from a veto, it might be adopted even without dread of those vulgar denunciations, which, however despicable in themselves, and to be trampled on when opposed to obvious duty, it is, notwithstanding, desirable to avoid.

2. The measure proposed recommends itself as a religious duty, made obligatory not merely by the spirit, but by the very letter of St. Paul's[1] injunction. The term *testimonium* does not express what is collected from rumour, but what is obtained from an adequate source; and so far is the religious difference of the source of information now specially in view from affording a just objection to its being resorted to, that it is that very circumstance which makes the precept peculiarly and literally applicable to the case. Nothing can be more strict than the analogy between the two cases; since every reason which made a *bonum testimonium* necessary, at that day from Gentile neighbours and fellow-citizens, holds good with multiplied force for an Irish Roman Catholic Bishop having a negative good testimony from the Government of his country. What, therefore, religion so expressly enjoins, there can be no difficulty in justifying to those who are conscientiously interested in the moral merits of the question.

3. Another advantage in the plan now suggested is,

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[1] "Oportet testimonium habere bonum *ab iis qui foris sunt.*"

that it substantially embraces all that was sought to be provided for respecting the appointment of Bishops, by the much discussed but little understood Bill of Mr. Canning. The utmost that Bill required was a credible assurance that no suspicion attached to the person nominated implying turbulence or disloyalty. The Sovereign or his Viceroy could not have withheld the necessary sanction, where there was not ground for such imputation. The supporters of that Bill, therefore, cannot object to the limitedness of the proposal now submitted, since all which was then aimed at would be thus secured in a more direct and much simpler way. The Bill, by somewhat elaborate means, provided merely for the person raised to the Prelacy being, as St. Paul requires, "irreprehensibilis" in his duty to the *potestates sublimiores;* and to effect this object with equal certainty and greater ease is the end looked to in the present suggestion.

Lastly, such a measure as that now proposed, if acceded to by the Roman Catholic Bishops, would be in perfect consistency with their offer in 1799. The plan then propounded was that, if Government had any "proper objection against" the candidate,[1] the President of the election was to be informed thereof (that is, of the objection and its nature[2]) within one month, &c.; who, in that case (namely, in the event of a "proper," which can only mean a matter-of-fact "objection,") will convene the "electors to the election of another candidate." This concession, therefore, gave no absolute veto; it merely stipulated (not, certainly, with sufficient precision) that a disqualifying fact stated on the part of Government should, in every instance, vacate the election. This, and no more, is the object of the present proposal.

Dr. Everard's Answer.

The arrangement you have so ingeniously devised is, in my opinion, the most satisfactory which has as yet been suggested.

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[1] See Article V. of the Maynooth Suggestions.

[2] I am led by the epithet *proper* to give this explanation.

Would to Heaven that the intemperate passions were charmed into a suspension, that all parties may at length listen to the plain dictates of prudence and obvious duty!

A BILL,

To make a competent and independent Provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland under certain Regulations.

Whereas the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland, and the Doctrine, Discipline, Government, and Possessions thereof are established and secured permanently and inviolably, and cannot be affected or in any way prejudiced by providing a competent Maintenance for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland;

And whereas the Spiritual duties or functions discharged by the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland are extensive and laborious, and the remuneration received by them is precarious and in a great degree derived from the poorer classes of the Roman Catholic people, and such remuneration being oppressive to the contributor and unsuitable to the receiver, it is just and expedient that a competent and independent provision be made for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, under the regulations hereafter mentioned.

May it please your Majesty that it may be enacted; And be it enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; That, from and after this Act taking effect as hereafter prescribed, it shall be lawful for the several Grand Juries of the several Counties, Counties of Cities, and Counties of Towns in Ireland, and they are hereby required, to present the sum of   yearly and every year by two equal portions, at every Spring and Summer Assizes, and in the County of Dublin and County of the City of Dublin, at every Easter and Michaelmas Term, in the several proportions to be fixed and established by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury in Ireland, as hereafter directed; the said sum of when raised and levied, together with the sum of to be issued out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland, as hereafter directed, to be paid by the several Treasurers of the public money in Ireland to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, as hereafter directed; And, for the purpose of enabling the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury in Ireland to ascertain and establish the just and equitable proportion of the said sum of to be presented and levied off each County, County of a City, and County of a Town respectively; Be it enacted that the several Treasurers of the public money in Ireland shall, immediately after the passing of this Act, transmit to the said Lords of the Treasury true copies of their respective County Books, Tables of Applotment, and all other Documents calculated to show satisfactorily the number of Acres in each County, County of a City, and County of a Town, as also the value of the several tenements or holdings in each County of a City and County of a Town, chargeable with the payment of Grand Jury Cess. And it shall be lawful for the said Lords of the Treasury, and they are hereby empowered, if they shall think proper, to summon and cause to be brought before them the said Treasurers of the public money or any one of them, and to examine them or any of them upon oath, which oath any one of the said Lords Commissioners is hereby empowered to administer, touching his or their knowledge of the number of Acres and value of the tenements in Ireland or any part thereof, chargeable with the payment of Grand Jury Cess. And the said Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury shall, from such documents and information, fix and establish the just proportion of the said sum of to be presented and raised off the said several Counties, Counties of Cities, and Counties of Towns respectively, and shall notify the same in writing to the respective Treasurers of the public money thereof, in order that the same may be presented and raised as herein before directed.

And be it further enacted that the said Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury in Ireland shall issue out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland the annual sum of
to be paid to the respective Treasurers of the public money of the several Counties, Counties of Cities, and Counties of Towns in Ireland, in such proportions as shall be found necessary to make good any deficiency which may exist in any such County, County of a City, or County of a Town, in respect to the provision of the Roman Catholic Clergy of such County, County of a City, or County of a Town, the amount of such provision to be ascertained and settled as hereafter prescribed.

And be it further enacted that it shall be lawful for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland to demand, sue for, recover and receive, from the several Treasurers of the public money in Ireland, such provision as shall be allotted for them in manner hereafter prescribed. And in case any Treasurer shall refuse to pay such provision, having money in hand at the time applicable and adequate to the payment thereof, such Treasurer shall, upon conviction by indictment or presentment, be fined in any sum not exceeding and be dismissed from his office of Treasurer, and be declared incapable of being ever again elected or serving as Treasurer.

And be it further enacted that it shall be lawful for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland to demand, sue for, recover, and receive, from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, such reasonable and accustomed dues as the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, at a general Synod, to be held in the City of Dublin, shall determine to be just and reasonable, and shall set forth in a Schedule to be submitted to and approved of by the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, for the time being. And it shall be also lawful for the said Roman Catholic Prelates, from time to time, at any general Synod, to alter and amend such Schedule, subject to the approbation of the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted that the said Roman Catholic

Prelates of Ireland shall, at such general Synod as aforesaid, appoint to each See in the Schedule hereunto annexed such number of Parish Priests and Curates as they, in their discretion, shall consider to be necessary for administering to the Spiritual wants and occasions of the Roman Catholic population of such respective Sees, and to fix the income of such Parish Priests respectively according to the classes mentioned in the Schedule hereunto annexed.

And be it further enacted that the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland shall be governed, according to the usages of the Roman Catholic Church, by Metropolitans and Suffragans, with such rank, titles, and precedence, and with such income as is set forth in the Schedule hereunto annexed; such Metropolitans and Suffragans to be elected, approved of, recommended, and appointed as hereafter prescribed; that is to say, when any Roman Catholic Metropolitan of any Metropolitan Province or See in Ireland shall happen to die, it shall be lawful for the senior Suffragan of such Metropolitan See; and he is hereby required, within months after such Metropolitan shall happen to die, to convene the Suffragans of such See, who shall proceed to elect three of the Suffragans of the said See by a majority of suffrages, and, in case of equality of suffrages, the senior Suffragan to have the casting vote, and, after the termination of such election, the senior Suffragan shall transmit the names of such three Suffragans so elected to the Chief or Under-Secretary of Ireland to be submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, who shall, within months after receiving such names, recommend some one of the three so elected to the Holy See, to be appointed the successor of such deceased Metropolitan, according to the usages of the Roman Catholic Church.

And be it further enacted that, whensoever any Roman Catholic Suffragan shall die or be promoted, it shall be lawful for the Dean, or, in case of his being dead or absent from Ireland, the senior Parish Priest of the Diocese of such deceased or promoted

Suffragan, and such Dean or Senior Priest is hereby required, within months after the death or promotion of such Suffragan, to convene the Parish Priests of such Diocese, who shall thereupon proceed to elect three Ecclesiastics of such Diocese of the rank of Dean or Parish Priest by a majority of suffrages, and, in case of equality of suffrages, the Dean or Senior Priest then presiding to have the casting vote. And, after the termination of such election, the Dean or Senior Priest then presiding shall transmit the names of such three Ecclesiastics so elected to the Roman Catholic Primate, or, in case of his being then dead or absent from Ireland, then to the senior Roman Catholic Metropolitan, to be submitted to the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, at a general Synod for that purpose to be convened in the City of Dublin; and, in case the Prelates so assembled, or the major part of them, shall approve of such three elected Ecclesiastics, then the Roman Catholic Primate or senior Metropolitan then presiding shall transmit the names of such three Ecclesiastics so elected and approved of to the Chief or Under-Secretary of Ireland, to be submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief-Governor of Ireland, who shall, within months after receiving such names, recommend some one of the said three Ecclesiastics so elected and approved of to the Holy See to be appointed the successor of such deceased or promoted Suffragan. And, in case the Roman Catholic Prelates, or the major part of them, at such general Synod, shall not approve of such three elected Ecclesiastics or any one or more of them, then the Primate or senior Metropolitan presiding at such Synod shall make known such non-approval to the Dean or senior Priest of such vacant Diocese, who shall thereupon convene the Parish Priests of such Diocese, in order that such Priests may elect, in manner aforesaid, one or more Ecclesiastic or Ecclesiastics of such Diocese and of such rank as aforesaid, in the place of the Ecclesiastic or Ecclesiastics not approved of by the Roman Catholic Prelates as aforesaid. And, after such election, the Dean or senior Priest then presiding shall transmit the name or names of the Ecclesiastic or Ecclesiastics so elected to the Roman Catholic Primate or senior Metropolitan of Ireland as aforesaid, to be approved of by the Roman Catholic Prelates as aforesaid, some one of the said Ecclesiastics so approved of to be recommended by the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, and appointed by the Holy See to succeed such deceased or promoted Suffragan as herein before particularly mentioned. And be it further enacted that, as often as the said Roman Catholic Prelates or the major part of them, at such general Synod, shall not approve of such Ecclesiastic or Ecclesiastics, so to be elected as aforesaid, so often shall the Dean and Parish Priests elect, in manner aforesaid, an Ecclesiastic or Ecclesiastics of the rank aforesaid, in the place of the Ecclesiastic or Ecclesiastics not approved of, and shall from time to time continue to make such election or elections, till the said Roman Catholic Prelates or the major part of them shall, in manner aforesaid, approve of their choice.

And be it further enacted that, in case such Dean and Parish Priests shall at any time omit or refuse to proceed to such election and make such return as herein before prescribed, then it shall be lawful for the Prelates of Ireland, at such general Synod as aforesaid, to elect any three Ecclesiastics of the Diocese and rank aforesaid, by a majority of suffrages, or, in case of an equality of suffrages, the Primate or senior Metropolitan then presiding to have the casting vote. And, after the termination of such election, the Primate or senior Metropolitan shall transmit the names of such three Ecclesiastics so elected to the Chief or Under-Secretary of Ireland, to be submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, who shall, as aforesaid, within months after receiving such names, recommend some one of the said three Ecclesiastics so elected to the Holy See, to be appointed to succeed such deceased or promoted Suffragan as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted that, whensoever any Roman Catholic Dean or Parish Priest of any Diocese in Ireland shall happen to die or be promoted, the Roman Catholic Prelate of such Diocese shall, within months after the death or promotion of such Dean or Parish Priest, transmit to the Chief or Under-Secretary of Ireland, for the purpose of being submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland, the names of three persons in Holy Orders professing the Roman Catholic religion, as fit and proper persons to succeed such deceased or promoted Dean or Priest, some one of which three persons so to be submitted, the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland shall, within months after receiving their names, recommend to such Prelate to be appointed to succeed such deceased or promoted Dean or Priest, according to the usages of the Roman Catholic Church.

And be it further enacted that it shall be lawful for the Roman Catholic Prelates in Ireland to appoint in their respective Diocesan Sees such number of Curates or Coadjutors as shall be allotted to such Sees respectively by the general Synod, as herein before directed. And such Prelates shall, from time to time, certify to the Lord-Lieutenant or Chief Governor of Ireland such appointment of such Curates or Coadjutors, and at the same time transmit a certificate of such Curates or Coadjutors having taken the Oaths and Declaration hereinafter mentioned and directed to be taken.

And be it further enacted that no person hereafter to be appointed Roman Catholic Metropolitan, Suffragan, Dean, Parish Priest, or Curate, shall be qualified to exercise or discharge the duties or functions of a Roman Catholic Metropolitan, Suffragan, Dean, Priest, or Curate, in Ireland, or be entitled to demand and receive the provision by this Act made for such Metropolitan, Suffragan, Dean, Parish Priest, and Curate, unless such Metropolitan, Dean, Parish Priest, and Curate shall, within calendar months from the passing of this Act, or within after entering into Holy Orders, and before he shall exercise any of the Spiritual duties or functions aforesaid, take, make, and subscribe the Oaths and Declaration following, and unless such Metropolitan, Suffragan, Dean, Parish Priest, and Curate, shall be appointed according to the Regulations herein before particularly prescribed.

The Schedule to which the foregoing Act refers.

Titles of Roman Catholic Prelates.	Extent of Diocesan Jurisdiction over Roman Catholic Inhabitants.	Annual Income.
		£
1. The Primate of Ireland, Metropolitan or Archbishop of Leinster and Bishop of Dublin	Co. and City of Dublin	2,000
2. Metropolitan or Archbishop of Munster	Co. and City of Cork	1,600
3. Metropolitan or Archb^{p}. of Connaught	Co. and Town of Galway	1,400
4. Metropolitan or Archbishop of Ulster	County of Donegal	1,200
5. Suffragan or Bishop of Kerry	County of Kerry	900
6. Suffragan or Bishop of Tipperary	County of Tipperary	900
7. Suffragan or Bishop of Mayo	County of Mayo	900
8. Suffragan or Bishop of Clare	County of Clare	800
9. Suffragan or Bishop of Kilmallock (vice Limerick)	County of Limerick	800
10. Suffragan or Bishop of Eastmeath	County of Meath	800
11. Suffragan or Bishop of Roscommon	County of Roscommon	800
12. Suffragan or Bishop of Wexford	County of Wexford	700
13. Suffragan or Bishop of Waterford	County of Waterford	700
14. Suffragan or Bishop of Kilkenny	County of Kilkenny	700
15. Suffragan or Bishop of Sligo	County of Sligo	700
16. Suffragan or Bishop of Leitrim	County of Leitrim	600
17. Suffragan or Bishop of King's County	King's County	600
18. Suffragan or Bishop of Wicklow	County of Wicklow	600
19. Suffragan or Bishop of Westmeath	County of Westmeath	600
20. Suffragan or Bishop of Queen's County	Queen's County	600
21. Suffragan or Bishop of Kilcullen (vice Kildare)	County of Kildare	600
22. Suffragan or Bishop of Tyrone	County of Tyrone	500
23. Suffragan or Bishop of Antrim	County of Antrim	500
24. Suffragan or Bishop of Downpatrick	County of Down	500
25. Suffragan or Bishop of Longford	County of Longford	500
26. Suffragan or Bishop of Carlow	County of Carlow	500
27. Suffragan or Bishop of Louth	County of Louth and Town of Drogheda	500
28. Suffragan or Bishop of Cavan	County of Cavan	500
29. Suffragan or Bishop of Londonderry	County of Londonderry	500
30. Suffragan or Bishop of Fermanagh	County of Fermanagh	500
31. Suffragan or Bishop of Monaghan	County of Monaghan	500
32. Suffragan or Bishop of Newry (vice Armagh)	County of Armagh	500
Total amount of provision for Roman Catholic Prelates		£24,000

Titles of Inferior Roman Catholic Dignitaries.	Annual Income. £	Titles of Inferior Roman Catholic Dignatories.	Annual Income. £
Dean of Leinster	750	Dean of King's County	300
„ Munster	500	„ Wicklow	300
„ Connaught	500	„ Westmeath	300
„ Ulster	500	„ Queen's County	300
„ Kerry	450	„ Kilcullen (vice Kildare	300
„ Tipperary	450	„ Tyrone	250
„ Mayo	450	„ Antrim	250
„ Clare	400	„ Downpatrick	250
„ Kilmallock (vice Limerick)	400	„ Longford	250
„ Eastmeath	400	„ Carlow	250
„ Roscommon	400	„ Louth	250
„ Wexford	350	„ Cavan	250
„ Waterford	350	„ Londonderry	250
„ Kilkenny	350	„ Fermanagh	250
„ Sligo	350	„ Monaghan	250
„ Leitrim	350	„ Newry (vice Armagh)	250

Total amount of provision for Roman Catholic Deans . £11,200

Total amount of provision for Roman Catholic Prelates		£24,000
Total amount of provision for Roman Catholic Deans		11,200
500 Parish Priests, 1st class ...	Annual Income £120	60,000
500 „ 2nd class...	„ 100	50,000
500 „ 3rd class...	„ 80	40,000
1000 Curates or Coadjutors	„ 50	50,000
		£235,200

APPENDIX.

1. PAPERS RELATING TO THE STATE OF THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND UNDER GEORGE I.

The following Papers, though neither belonging to the period nor to the precise subject of this portion of the Castlereagh Correspondence, appear to me too valuable as illustrative of the condition of the English Catholics in the early part of the reign of George I. to be excluded. They must, I conceive, have belonged originally to the Papers of Mr. Secretary Craggs, and form a small packet with this inscription on the envelope, in handwriting as ancient as themselves: "Letters from the Earl of Stair, the King's Ambassador at Paris in 1718, from Mr. Secretary Craggs in 1719, Duke of Norfolk, &c., concerning the Roman Catholic Negotiation going on at that time in England, with a Memorial and Papers on that subject."

The troubles and disturbances, of which mention is made in the following Papers, were those which led to the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, and were finally quelled, as every reader of English history knows, by the result of the fatal battle of Preston. Of the personages who appear as the writers or receivers of letters, I subjoin a few particulars.

The Earl of Stair, the second of that title, was a military officer of great distinction, and had shared in the victories of the Duke of Marlborough. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal, and appointed commander of the forces in North Britain. In 1715, he was sent in a diplomatic capacity to the Court of France, and, after the death of Louis XIV., constituted Ambassador Extraordinary for the transaction of a business of the highest importance, which he executed with remarkable skill and ability. He died in 1747.

James Stanhope, Esq., who had also distinguished himself as a military officer, was appointed in 1708 to the chief command of the British forces in Spain, and obtained great renown by the reduction of Mahon, in the Island of Minorca. He was appointed by George I. Secretary of State (for Foreign Affairs, I presume), First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1717, he was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Stanhope of Mahon, and in the following year created Earl Stanhope. Having been twice appointed one of the Lords Justices during the absence of the King, and been concerned in some of the most important and diplomatic affairs, he died in 1720-1.

The Duke of Norfolk was Thomas, eighth duke, who succeeded his uncle in 1701, and died in 1732.

James, second Baron Waldegrave, or Walgrave, as the name appears in some of these Papers, after the ancient mode in which it was written, son of a natural daughter of James II., by Mrs. Arabella Churchill, sister of the great Duke of Marlborough, conformed to the Church of England, and took the oaths and his seat in the House of Peers, in February 1721-2.

He was created Earl of Waldegrave in 1729, and from 1725 till near his death, in 1741, he was employed in the highest rank of diplomacy.

The French Memorial of Dr. Strickland, transmitted from Paris by the Earl of Stair to Lord Stanhope, is remarkable, as furnishing an exquisite specimen of that innate duplicity and deceit, which have in all times characterized the Holy See. The Doctor himself, a shrewd, or, according to the expression used by Sir William Goring, an "ingenious" man, seems, upon his own showing in various of these Papers, to have imbibed a fair portion of this spirit, along with the doctrines of the Church of Rome; for, while he is recommending to the British Government the most stringent—we may say cruel—regulations for his fellow Catholics of this country, he is willing to take credit to himself for exertions to promote their interest at the Papal Court; and in both cases he manifests a prudent attention to personal advantage, in soliciting employment from the British Cabinet, and its influence to procure for him the gift of an abbey in France, and from the Pope, his nomination to a Bishopric *in partibus*—*i.e.*, *in partibus infidelium*, so called because these sinecure Sees are almost all situated in the Ottoman dominions.

Paper relating to the Roman Catholics.[1]

When the Register Act was depending, the Roman Catholics of the three kingdoms begged of the Pope to engage the Roman Catholic Princes to intercede in their behalf.

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[1] Apparently by Dr. Strickland.

These Princes did so at the Pope's request, and some of them, being his Majesty's nearest Allies, out of zeal for his service, and to make their request fit for the nation in reason and equity to comply with, undertook to prevail with the Pope, 1°. to acknowledge the King's title, and, by consequence, in some measure, to disown the Pretender's, by publishing and intimating to the Roman Catholics a decision or declaration he made three years ago in favour of the oath of allegiance to be by them taken to the Government, as being naturally equitable, and in every respect conformable to the principles of their religion.—2°. to take from C. Gualterio, the Pretender's agent, the title and office of Protector or Chief Superior of these missions—3°. to revoke an indulto granted to the Pretender himself for the nomination of Irish Bishops, and solemnly engage himself to govern those missions without any direct or indirect communication with the Pretender, or regard to his interests.—4°. to recall any person or sort of persons employed in these kingdoms, upon intimation of any offence by him or them given to the Government.

It was soon after thought fit to take this occasion of trying the temper and discovering the real dispositions of the Roman Catholics, by proposing to them to join with the above-mentioned Roman Catholic Princes in demanding these things of the Pope. This they cannot refuse to do under any pretence of religion, of conscience, nor can they do it without setting themselves at open variance with the Pretender, and in direct opposition to his interests. Some of them, however, have done it; others have not only refused, but have had recourse to the most indirect and unfair means to obstruct the whole course of this affair.

And, this being the true state of the case, some such Act of Parliament as I've hinted at in another paper, might perhaps appear very reasonable and proper at this time. Some mixture, or rather some prospect of lenity, joined to the many great and present severities, proposed to be inflicted upon them all, would certainly bring them to a sense of their duty, and fix them in the practice of it.

Some Proposals of Mr. Floyd (Dr. Strickland) in relation to the Roman Catholics. In Mr. Nelson's handwriting.[1]

It being reasonable for the Government to take such measures in relation to Roman Catholics as may best secure the peace of the kingdom; it being also natural for the Commissioners, in pursuance to the preamble of the late Register Act, to bring in a Bill for taking the two-thirds, or levying some extraordinary tax upon Roman Catholics: lastly, the case of the Protestants in the Palatinate furnishing different motives for entering upon this affair;

Therefore, it may be thought fit to enact—

1°. That all who, having registered, shall not take the Oath of Allegiance within a limited time, shall forfeit all degrees and titles of honour and two-thirds of their estates; or, if this does not seem sufficient, forfeit even their whole estates, and be left to the King's mercy for a subsistence.

2°. A proviso may be added, whereby the next in reversion shall be empowered to enter upon the forfeited estate, taking the Oath of Allegiance, and paying to the Government the value of the forfeited life interest therein.

3°. The obstinate Recusant may be still more strictly obliged, than by any other Act now in being, to abjure the realm.

4°. To prevent the eluding the intent of the Act, the Roman Catholics must be disabled from selling their estates, till it be otherwise ordered by Parliament, that is, till they have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration, and given security for the payment of any such tax as may be laid upon them, according to one of the following clauses.

5°. Those who shall take the Oaths both of Allegiance and Abjuration to be freed from all the punishments enacted by the

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[1] Endorse of original.

Penal Laws, excepting the disability of bearing offices of trust or profit.

6°. If, notwithstanding the severities of the former clauses, the Fifth Clause shall yet appear too indulgent to the Roman Catholic persuasion, the Act may begin with imposing a tax of one whole year's value of their estates upon all who have registered; and this either with or without an exception for such who shall take the Oath of Abjuration in due time.

7°. If, to render this fifth clause still more acceptable to the public, it be necessary to exclude the Jesuits from any benefit by the Act, the laws may be still continued against them, or any who shall harbour them here, or resort to their Houses or Colleges abroad. Unless it should be rather thought fit to suffer them here for a time upon their good behaviour; lest, becoming desperate upon their exclusion, they should disturb the course of this affair by their practices at home or abroad.

8°. Upon the whole matter, nobody will receive any benefit by the Act proposed that does not enter fully into the interest and measures of the Government: all others will be hereby more distressed than ever. And, as the equity of the fifth clause will no doubt make the severities of all the others very much approved abroad, and acceptable to his Majesty's Catholic Allies, so it is hoped that those accumulated severities will make the fifth clause not unpopular at home.

9°. Many objections have been formerly made against any scheme of this nature: but at present there seems to be only one, which has any great weight with the most judicious part of the best affected to the Government. If, say they, there be a toleration of Popery, the people insensibly will lose their abhorrence of it, and, by a further step, their abhorrence of a Popish Prince, and by these means a shock will be given to the Protestant succession.

To this it may be answered—1°. No such shock was apprehended or felt in relation to the Dutch Protestant Government, when it gave a toleration to Popery.—2°. It seems to carry with it something inhuman and barbarous to afflict and persecute a number of innocent people, merely to render one other person of the same religion odious and despisable.—3°. According to all human appearance, the title of this same person's being disclaimed by those of his own religion will remove him much farther from the Crown than his religion's becoming less odious will approach him to it. A certain sign of the reasonableness of this conjecture is the opposition which all those who have any view towards him have always made, and will always make, to the Catholics being received to mercy upon submission.—4°. Toleration, indeed, may take off from Catholics so much of the public odium that afterwards they may find the Protestants still better neighbours than they have yet been. But there is a great deal of difference betwixt this and the Protestants liking a Papist for a King. The truth is, as every nation is extremely averse to the having a King of a different religion from that of the country, so nothing can ever inspire the English to think of the Pretender, but a spirit of discontent, and faction, and rebellion against the Prince on the throne. Now, it is reasonable to think that the Papists, whilst their sufferings tire out their patience, and make any change to appear desirable, may indeed contribute to blow up, foment, or carry on the designs of this factious and rebellious spirit: but it is not less reasonably supposed that, when their inclinations shall change with their treatment, and they be thoroughly fixed in the interest of the Government, they may and will be as serviceable for the preventing, laying, or disarming this same dangerous spirit.

Dr. Strickland's Memorial.

In order to make the scheme proposed bear in every part, 'tis humbly conceived it may be proper—

1°. To settle the essential preliminary about the middle of September.

2°. To let it be whispered about that this preliminary, being grounded upon matters of State and not of religion, is like to be followed by more efficient measures.

3°. This will alarm the Roman Catholics, and the most considerable among them will be sure to apply to the Ministry for information and protection. And then, 'tis conceived, will be the proper time to break the matter to the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Edward Blount, or any other leading man, as circumstances of time and place shall require. It may be thought proper to tell them that, the Ministry having certain information of new designs and levies of money against Government, and that some Roman Catholics are concerned therein, the King is fully resolved to have the laws executed against them, and particularly to enforce all the consequences of the last Register Act as soon as the Parliament shall meet—that, however, mercy and some favour may still be hoped for, if, by a pressing letter to the Pope, subscribed by some of their principal men, they can procure effectual satisfaction to the Government in some particulars, by prevailing with the Court of Rome—1°. to take from Cardinal Gualterio the title of Protector of England, and all authority over the Colleges and Missions thereunto belonging—2°. to recall Bishop Gifford and Bishop Pritchard, and put such others as he shall think fit in their room, provided the Government may have proper assurances of their sincere obedience and fidelity—3°. to recall a brief or bull granted to the Pretender, for the nomination of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland; and promise the Emperor, in the fullest and clearest terms, never to give the said Pretender any share in, or consult him or his about the government of the Missions of Great Britain and Ireland—4°. to give proper orders for the publication and execution of his late decree about the Oath of Allegiance to his present Majesty: that decree, obtained last year, lying now concealed in the hands of his Internuncio at Bruxelles. To encourage the most considerable Roman Catholics to undertake this affair, proper hints may be given them of what quiet and security they may hope for hereafter, if they succeed now; and that the Emperor's interest and Count Gallatsch's solicitations at Rome shall not be wanting to support their just demands.

4°. If such a letter to the Pope be only considered as a sort of test, against which no pretence of conscience or religion can be pleaded, too many subscriptions can never be required from gentlemen of considerable estates or interest. But, if it be considered, on the other side, that, if the Court of Urbino can have the least notice of the letter, they will do their very utmost to raise infinite difficulties by the means of the Spanish faction, accounted favourable to the Pretender, and ever ready to oppose whatever is carried on at Rome by the Emperor's interest; then, it may perhaps appear most advisable at this time to be content with fewer subscriptions.

5°. Upon the whole, the proper subscribers may be the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Montague Brown, Lord Walgrave, Sir John Webb, Sir Robert Throckmorton, Sir William Goring, Mr. Talbot of Longford, Mr. Edward Blount.

6°. What use to make of the annexed draft of a letter to the Pope, and indeed of the author himself, will very much depend on the situation he shall then be in; for if, by Count Gallatsch's previous and therefore unopposed solicitation, he can then be vested with a title *in partibus* from Rome, that will not only prevent all exceptions on this side against the management of the whole affair being committed to him, but also the Pope himself will be left without any pretence to gratify or soothe up the Court of Urbino, by trusting some other with the publication and execution of the decree, which (to go through with the business once for all) it will be requisite to enforce in a particular manner upon all the English Colleges and Monasteries abroad, whither gentlemen or ladies are sent for education.

7°. If, to defeat or put off the conclusion of this affair, any gentlemen should plead this year, as they did the last, the advice of their lawyers, who inform them there's no writing to the Pope without incurring a premunire, a promise of indemnity for this one time will easily clear the case. And, as for the author of this paper, he appeals, both for his personal character and the management of a former trust, to the Duke of Norfolk's and Mr. Edward Blount's letters on one side, and on the other to the letters of several Cardinals writ from Rome, but the day before he himself was obliged, upon the Pretender's coming, to leave that town; copies of all which shall be left in the proper hands, with other papers relating to these affairs.

8°. It will be very requisite, in the mean while, to lose no time in securing the Emperor's interest at Rome, and procuring an exact account of this whole affair, with proper instructions and orders thereupon, to be transmitted from the Court of Vienna to Count Gallatsch: that, upon his answer and more particular directions, the most effectual and secure measures may be taken for bringing so nice and intricate an affair to a speedy and happy conclusion.

Some Italian Letters translated into English, from Cardinal Fabroni, the Pope's Internuncio in Flanders.

Rome, April 22, 1717.

I've endeavoured to assist Abbé Strickland in all his affairs here to the best of my knowledge and power, and with the same earnestness with which you have been pleased to recommend him to me. He is truly a man of great worth and capacity, and it has been a particular satisfaction to me to find him so well furnished with all those good qualities you had so much recommended him for: so that I can assure you that you have very much obliged me in procuring me the occasion of being acquainted and treating with him. As he is now returning to your parts, I thought fit to give him a letter for you, not but that I'm sure he needs not any recommendation of mine to obtain from you the continuation of that singular esteem you have all along so deservedly honoured him with;

his own virtue and his own merit being more than sufficient to secure that to him; but I was willing to make use of this occasion to assure you of the true desire I have to show myself on all occasions,

Your, &c.,

Let me desire you to assist Abbé Strickland with as much attention and zeal as if all his affairs were my own personal concerns.

Cardinal Adda to the same Internuncio.

Rome, April 23.

Abbé Strickland sets out to-morrow for your parts, who, I can assure you, during the whole time of his stay and business in this court, has ever given the greatest proofs of all those worthy qualities which he is endowed with, and have engaged to him my most particular and distinguished esteem. And, though I doubt not but you are sufficiently inclined of yourself to show him all favour and kindness, yet I cannot forbear desiring of you to do it also for my sake; as being assured to oblige me thereby in a particular manner: for he is a man of true merit, very capable of deserving your favours and doing great services.

Cardinal Paulucci, Secretary of State, to the same Internuncio.

Rome, April 22.

Abbé Strickland returns to your parts, after promoting here, with great zeal, the affair so well known to your Lordship; he himself will best inform you with how much satisfaction our Holy Father has been often pleased to hear him, and with what earnestness he has recommended his affairs to several Princes by his Apostolical briefs. One of these Abbé Strickland is to present to the Marquis de Prié, and it is his Holiness's pleasure that you introduce and assist him with all your interest, as so important a business deserves. As to the questions by him proposed to the Congregation, whether it be lawful for the English Catholics to promise and swear to live quietly and peaceably under the present Government, pay a true and sincere obedience and fidelity to the reigning Prince, so as never directly or indirectly to assist any other against him, no other answer has been returned him but that Divines might be consulted, of all which let this be notice to you. I wish you all happiness, &c.

Cardinal Ptolomei to the Archbishop of Mechlin.

Rome, April 22.

Mr. Strickland, an English gentleman, and an excellent ecclesiastic, is a man of the greatest piety and zeal for his Catholic countrymen, whose peace and tranquillity he earnestly desires. I've often been witness of his diligence and zeal during his stay at Rome, where, I can assure you, he is in no small esteem: he, therefore, very well deserves to be in a most distinguished manner recommended to your Lordship, for all the favour, assistance, &c.

Cardinal Fabroni to the same Archbishop.

Rome, April 22.

As I am sure you have a particular satisfaction in being acquainted with an ecclesiastic of true zeal, learning, and all other valuable qualities, so I reckon I shall do a thing agreeable to your Lordship in most earnestly recommending to you Abbé Strickland, the bearer of this. For my part, I can assure you that, having had now for some time frequent occasions of treating of different sorts of business, and at full leisure with him, I've been extremely pleased and edified. So I cannot but recommend, &c.,

Cardinal Paulucci, Secretary of State, to the Pope's Nuncio at Paris.

Rome, April 22.

This is to inform your Excellency that Abbé Strickland has been received and heard by his Holiness with singular satisfaction and favour: and this no less in regard to his own personal qualities than to the importance of his commission. He is now returning to your parts, after having zealously promoted here the interests of the poor Roman Catholics of England. As he has a brief from his Holiness to the Duke Regent, so his Holiness has ordered me to recommend him in the strongest terms to you, and so I kiss your Excellency's hands.

Cardinal Fabroni to the same Nuncio.

Rome, April 22.

I've great thanks to return you for the acquaintance you have procured me with Abbé Strickland; for it has really been a true comfort to me to find in him so much learning and capacity, and so many other excellent qualities every way answerable to the character you had given of him. Being, therefore, under a double obligation, to obey your Excellency and to do justice to his merit, I've done my utmost to promote his affairs, and serve him in this court. Now, though I'm very certain the full knowledge you have of the merits of so worthy an ecclesiastic will be of all motives the most powerful to induce you to serve him, yet I cannot but recommend, &c.,

Cardinal Bissy to Dr. Strickland.

Paris, February 9.

I'm extremely sorry that now that I'm so very sensible of your merits, 'tis no longer in my power to engage you to myself as I had proposed, by making you Vicar-General and Archdeacon of Méaux. The reasons that hinder me from executing in this both my desires and designs are so far from being the least reflexion upon you, that I shall always be the more ready, from the very bottom of my heart, to contribute whatever may be in my power towards procuring you those more advantageous promotions you so very well deserve, as being most sincerely, &c.

Sir William Goring to Lord Waldegrave, concerning what passed between him and Mr. Pulteney about the Roman Catholics.

January 8, 1719.

My Lord—I return my humble thanks for your favour of the

5th. I must own the subject of it does surprise me extremely, for I am sure there was not one word spoke in the discourse I had with Mr. Poltney [Pulteney], that tended, or could fairly be interpreted, to aim at the design that I am charged with; and I am confident Mr. Poltney is too much a man of honour to aver the contrary. I am much concerned to be thus misrepresented, as it exposes me to my friends for the highest folly, indiscretion, or madness a man could be guilty of, and also to the resentment of the Ministry, although I have all the regard and respect for them, as I think we owe them (next the King) the greatest obligations for their compassionate consideration of us. Therefore, to vindicate myself of this calumny, I shall give your Lordship a full and true account of the discourse that passed between us, as also of my reasons for desiring to see Mr. Poltney here.

I had heard that Mr. Strickland had been in England in the summer, and had offered a scheme to the Ministry of something in our behalf; I had not then seen the articles of his scheme, nor did I know how far the Ministry did approve of it: some hints only had been given me of the article for removing the Cardinal Protector, and of the writing to the Pope about our Clergy here; and, as I apprehended these articles no ways necessary to what the King and Ministry required of us, *vidt.*, of our submission and giving due security for our peaceable behaviour; and, knowing that Mr. Strickland had been down with Mr. Poltney at Ladyholt, in the summer when he was first in England, I thought he could inform me more of this scheme than I knew; and, as he had the character of a generous, civil gentleman, who was also well heard in the House of Commons, it might be of service to us, if I could engage him either to use his interest with Mr. Strickland, to moderate his scheme to such articles and terms as all the Roman Catholics could come into, and also to engage him to second the Ministry by forwarding of it if any Act was offered this sessions in our favour.

According to my desire, Mr. Poltney came to me, and when I had told him the subject of my giving him that trouble, he said it was true Mr. Strickland had been with him at Ladyholt; that he had been acquainted with something of this scheme ever since he was at Paris, and that he believed it was originally my Lord Stair's project, but that he believed it was dropped for the present. I asked him what could be the intent of that article of the Cardinal Protector. He seemed to have been informed as if the Cardinal Protector transacted much business relating to us here, and as if the Pope and he gave particular directions what missioners were sent over hither. I used the best arguments I could to convince him of this mistake; and that, therefore, I apprehended those articles were put in the scheme to serve some private view, and not for the satisfaction of the Government, nor for any advantage to the Roman Catholics, since they had no relation to our submission or quiet behaviour. I told him that, though he was out of employment, yet I supposed he visited some of the Ministry when in London. I begged the favour of him that, if proper opportunities offered, he would assure the Ministry that we should all embrace so happy an opportunity by all the compliance that could be expected from us, provided the oath to be taken was in such plain words and terms that nothing more than submission and true peaceable behaviour could be meant by it; and this I desired because, the clearer the words were, the more generally they would be approved of and complied with by us, and that our coming unanimously into it would tend to the better satisfaction of the Government, as well as for our advantage. I entreated him particularly to give my Lord Stanhope this assurance, if he had the opportunity of seeing him. To all which he made me very obliging answers, that, as he was out of employment, little was in his power, but, if any opportunities offered for our service, we might depend upon him.

I must also inform your Lordship what passed in discourse, particular to Mr. Strickland, since I apprehend that may have occasioned my being thus misrepresented, and raised this storm against me. I was a stranger to him, but I had heard he was an ingenious man, though full of projects, and by what I heard of those two articles in the scheme, I thought it answered that character, since those foreign points seemed more calculated for private ends than for what was wanted here; all which I laid before Mr. Poltney, telling him that, if the King and Ministry had such favourable intentions to us, we begged they would let the persons of quality and fortune treat with them about it—that I knew his Grace of Norfolk, your Lordship, and those other persons of quality in town would wait on the Ministry on the least encouragement, and would be ready to comply with what was demanded, or give just reasons why they desired a change in the scheme offered; to which I added that we thought such treaty were out of the sphere of Churchmen, and that we liked no more to be ruled by them than the Protestants did. 'Tis true I did not then know this gentleman had been so much encouraged by the Ministry, or else, in respect to them, I should not have spoken my mind so freely; though I still wish those most concerned could be as acceptable to the Ministry to treat with.

This is the truth and substance of all that passed betwixt us; not one word (as I hope to be saved) was said of joining with any other party, or of giving any handle to find fault with any part of the Ministry or Government, nor of disrespect for the King or his Ministry; but, on the contrary, to request the favour of the Ministry, if he had an opportunity to do it; and this I was the forwarder in, by reason that, at the time of the Register Act, I had laboured all I could to have the Ministry informed of our desire to give the King and Government all the assurance in our power (and, according to the doctrine of our religion) of our honest meaning to live with full submission to them, in hopes to deserve their protection, and the being freed from the oppressive laws that we have long groaned under. As I then applied myself only to the

Ministry, so my intention was the same now, and to seek redress no other way, of which truth I hope your Lordship will be satisfied, and that you will do me the justice to others that, upon honour, this is matter of fact, without any disguise. I entreat my particular thanks to the worthy friend who engaged you to write to me, and that you will let him know the naked truth, as you have it here, from, my Lord,

Your most obliged, &c.,
WILLIAM GORING.

Pardon this long relation, from my desire to be set right, in your opinion. I hope such proper application will be made to the Ministry as will remove all misrepresentations on me, the happy fruit of their compassion for us.

The Earl of Stair to Earl Stanhope.

Paris, April 25, 1718.

I send your Lordship enclosed a Memorial, which was given me some time ago by Mr. Strickland, Doctor of the Sorbonne, who was known to my Lord Sunderland at Aix-la-Chapelle. This Mr. Strickland is the person who was employed in the negociation mentioned in the said Memorial. He is a sensible, good-natured man, who seems concerned for the good and quiet of his country, and for the good of the Roman Catholics themselves.

Your Lordship will be able to judge of what use this Memorial may be, and how far the Doctor's views may be practicable and of use to the Government. It appears to me, that there are hints in the Memorial which may be improved, if not to make the body of the Roman Catholics good subjects, at least to divide them among themselves, and render them much less dangerous than they are at present—a body of men under no ties to the Government, but in a stated opposition against it.

Since the breaking off of this negociation, most of the considerable Roman Catholics who had given commission to

Dr. Strickland to obtain the Pope's Decree, declaring it lawful for the Roman Catholics to take oaths of fidelity to the King, and that they were obliged to live in consequence as peaceable and good subjects, without doing any thing to disturb the Government—I say, most of the said Roman Catholics have, since that time, disowned their having given any such commission, and, in all appearance, have joined themselves again to the rest of the body of the Jacobites to act in concert for promoting the Pretender's interest, and it appears that they have of late raised very great sums of money by voluntary contribution for carrying on his service.

The Doctor thinks, if proper methods are taken, it will be an easy matter to bring back the greatest part of the considerable Roman Catholics to their resolution of submitting themselves to the Government, by renewing the apprehension of the danger they thought themselves in from the Register Act, which was the thing that gave the rise to their sending to obtain from the Pope the above-mentioned Decree; as the persuasion of that danger's being over was the occasion of their disavowing and retracting the said commission. He thinks it the best way of working upon the Roman Catholics at this time will be for the King's Ministers to call for some of the principal persons of them, and let them know that the Government is very well apprized of their undutiful behaviour, representing to them, at the same time, the dangers they expose themselves to by their ill conduct, and that the Government will find itself obliged to put the standing laws against Roman Catholics in execution with the greatest rigour, against all such who shall refuse to subscribe such a declaration as the Government shall think fit to propose, and who shall refuse to enter into such measures as shall be proposed by the Government for their giving proof of their design and resolution to live as good subjects. He thinks the proper persons to be used in this matter are, Edward Blount and Sir William Goring.

The Doctor says, that the principal persons who have opposed the Roman Catholics submitting themselves to the Government, and who have been the chief instruments in stirring them up to rebellion, are, Gifford, *alias* Fowler, whom they call Bishop of London, and Pritchard, one of their titular Bishops in Wales, and Richard Plowden, Provincial of the Jesuits. He thinks it would be of great use if these three were taken up, especially the first of them, for treasonable practices against the Government, and for keeping correspondence with the Court of St. Germans; namely, with Dr. Ingleton, by the name of Waterton, and with Dr. Dickieson, the Queen's Secretary, by the name of Cortez. He thinks it would likewise be of consequence, if it should be required of the Duke of Norfolk to engage that his brother, the Abbé Howard, should not go out of England. The Abbé was lately sent from Rome by the Pretender, on purpose to dissuade the Roman Catholics from submitting to the Government, and to persuade them that the Pope had never given it as his opinion that they ought so to do.

The Doctor says that, if your Lordship thinks it can be of any use for the King's Government that he should go into England, to give your Lordship any lights that you may want for the management of this project, he will be ready to pass over upon the least advertisement; but he says that it will be absolutely necessary that there be no mention made of his name, nor [and] that none of the Roman Catholics should know that any intimation has been given by him of what is contained in the Memorial, or in this letter; because, if any such thing were known, it would render him incapable of any further service to the Government.

If the King should think it proper that the Doctor should come into England, he proposes to make that journey with the greatest secrecy: in order to that he is gone to Liege, where he will remain till he hears from me, after I have received your Lordship's answer to this letter.

The Court of St. Germans has been so much exasperated against him about this negociation, that there has been several messages sent to him of late, threatening to have him murdered; and the Queen sent to the Cardinal de Bissy, who had promised the Doctor to make him Vicar-General of Meaux, desiring it as a favour of the Cardinal that he would not give the Doctor the preferment, and accordingly the Cardinal retracted his promise. I thought the Doctor's suffering in so good a cause was a very good ground for me to recommend him to the Regent for some ecclesiastical preferment, which I have accordingly done.

I am, with great respect and esteem, &c.,

STAIR.

Mémoire.

On est obligé d'avouer qu'en différentes occasions, et surtout dans les dernières révoltes, les Catholiques d'Angleterre ont tenu une conduite qui a justement irrité le Roi contre eux, et qu'ils mériteroient que sa Majesté les abandonnait à la sévérité des Loix: mais on espére qu'elle suivra plutôt les mouvements de sa clémence pour deux raisons, 1° parceque tous les Catholiques ne sont pas coupables, on ose même dire que le plus grand nombre n'a point eu de part aux derniers troubles: 2° parceque l'intérêt même de l'Etat paroît demander qu'on ne les traite pas avec la dernière rigueur. C'est ce qu'on se propose de montrer par ce Mémoire, où l'on rapportera, 1°, ce que s'est passé à Rome sur cette affaire depuis le mois de Decembre, 1716, jusqu'à l'arrivée du Chevalier de St. George; 2°, le changement que la présence de ce Chevalier a apporté dans les résolutions de la Cour de Rome; 3°, on exposera les dispositions des Catholiques d'Angleterre depuis les nouvelles démarches du Pape; 4°, ce qu'il faudroit exiger du Pape pour s'assurer pleinement des Catholiques; 5°, les moyens qu'il faudroit employer pour engager le Pape à accorder ce qu'on lui démanderoit; 6°, ce qu'il seroit juste après cela d'espérer de la Cour en faveur des Catholiques. 7°, on fera voir

que le sentiment de quelques Théologiens Catholiques sur le pouvoir attribué au Pape de dispenser les sujets du serment de fidélité ne doit point arrêter la Cour dans cette affaire.

1. *Négociations à Rome.*

Les Catholiques d'Angleterre ayant sujet de craindre que l'enrégistrement de leurs biens ne fût bientôt suivi de la confiscation des deux tiers, plusieurs consulterent des Théologiens sur ce que la conscience pourroit leur permettre de faire en cette occasion : quelquesuns, et même des principaux, envoyerent à Rome, bien résolus de donner à la Cour toutes les satisfactions qui ne seroient point contraires aux principes de leur religion—or, 1°, La première chose qu'on démanda au Pape fût de ne rien communiquer au Cardinal Gualterio de tout ce qu'on avoit à lui dire, parcequ'étant agent du Chevalier de St. George, il ne pouvoit que traverser la négociation. Le Pape, qui n'aime pas le Cardinal, accorda aisement ce préliminaire ; 2°, on proposa au Pape le premier Mémoire ci-joint, sur lequel on délibéra dans plusieurs séances de la Congrégation établie pour cette affaire : et il fût conclu que les Catholiques devoient prêter serment de fidélité et obéissance ; 3°, en conséquence, on envoya le résultat de la Congrégation au Nonce des Pays Bas, pour être signifié aux Vicaires Apostoliques et aux autres missionnaires d'Angleterre. Le Nonce exécuta aussitôt ces ordres, mais par l'ordinaire ensuivant il en reçut des contraires ; car on lui manda de ne rien communiquer par écrit, mais seulement de vive voix, aux missionnaires qui passeroient par les Pays Bas. 4°, Cependant on pressoit vivement le Pape de donner à ce résultat la forme d'un Décret, qui eut plus d'autorité pour contenir les Catholiques dans leur devoir et donner satisfaction à la Cour d'Angleterre ; mais, après avoir laissé espérer ce Décret pendant quelque tems, il fût résolu d'écrire au Roi d'Espagne un bref, portant que les Catholiques d'Angleterre étoient d'autant plus digne de sa protection auprès de leur Roi, qu'ils étoient prêts de lui prêter tous les serments de fidélité qu'ont coutume de prêter les Catholiques sujets des Etats-Généraux et des Princes Protestants d'Allemagne. Le bref fût dressé et communiqué, mais l'altération qu'on fit ensuite en retranchant la clause essentielle l'a rendu assez inutile : ce n'est pas que le Pape eut changé de sentiment sur le fond, car il a dit plusieurs fois qu'il ne donnera jamais de secours au Chevalier de St. George pour exciter de nouveaux troubles dans le Royaume ; et même un Religieux, qui étoit prêt à partir, ayant cru lui faire sa cour en lui disant qu'il feroit ses efforts pour servir le Chevalier de St. George en Angleterre, le Pape ordonna à ses supérieurs de l'empêcher de partir. 5°, Toutes ces mesures ayant manqué, et la Cour de Rome étant resolue de ne rien donner par écrit, quoiqu'elle ne fit aucune difficulté de s'expliquer ouvertement de vive voix, on se servit de la disposition peu équitable de quelquesuns des Vicaires Apostoliques, et surtout de ce que le Pape apprit dans le tems même, par une voie très sure, de l'emportement et des excès de l'un d'entr'eux pour engager le Pape à prendre des mesures capables de suppléer au Décret et d'arrêter les suites d'un zéle si aveugle et si outré : on tint en effet une Congrégation extraordinaire, dont le résultat devoit être communiqué de jour en jour, et ne le fût pourtant pas ; mais on promit de l'envoyer à Bruxelles. Il y a lieu de croire que le projet étoit ou de révoquer ce Vicaire Apostolique dont le Pape n'étoit pas content d'ailleurs, ou de nommer deux commissaires sur les lieux, pour agir en cette affaire independamment de lui.

2. *Conduite du Pape après l'Arrivé du Chevalier St. George à Rome.*

Le Cardinal Gualterio ayant apparemment pénétré dans ce secret de la Congregation, manda au Chevalier de St. George qu'il étoit de son intérêt de se rendre au plutôt a Rome, pour empêcher l'exécution des mesures qu'on avoit prises. Le Chevalier de St. George hâta en effet son voyage, mais, avant son arrivée, on presenta au Pape un septième et dernier Mémoire ci-joint, tendant à prouver qu'on ne devoit consulter ni lui ni son conseil sur les affaires des Catholiques d'Angleterre : il a paru néanmoins qu'on n'a point eu d'égard à ce Mémoire, et que la présence du Chevalier a fait de grandes impressions à Rome, Car 1°, on n'a point envoyé à Bruxelles les instructions qu'on avoit promises ; 2°, le Pape n'a pris aucunes mesures pour arrêter les excès du Vicaire Apostolique, dont il étoit si bien informé ; 3°, il a accordé au Cardinal Gualterio la qualité de Protecteur d'Angleterre, qu'il lui avoit toujours refusée, avec un bref, qui lui donne instruction sur toutes les missions et les Collèges qui y ont rapport ; 4°, il a accordé au Chevalier de St. George un bref, par lequel il reconnoît en lui le même droit de nommer aux évêchés d'Irlande qu'ont les Rois de France et d'Espagne sur les évêchés de leur royaumes : mais, pour en ôter la connoissance à la Cour d'Angleterre, on est convenu de ne point faire mention de cette nomination dans les Bulles qu'on envoit aux évêques nommés, mais seulement d'y marquer qu'elles sont relatives au bref dont on vient de parler.

3. *Dispositions des Catholiques.*

Les grâces accordées par la Cour de Rome au Chevalier de St. George et la vaine espérance dont plusieurs Catholiques se flattent qu'on n'exécutera point les dernières loix faites contre eux, ont beaucoup rallenti le mouvement qu'ils s'étoient donnés pour prendre un parti convenable : on ne peut pas même douter que les suggestions de quelques missionnaires ignorans et prévenus ne les entretiennent dans l'illusion. Ils sont eu cela d'autant plus coupables que de vues d'intérêt ou d'ambition, fondées sur le crédit du Chevalier de St. George en Cour de Rome leur font méconnoître ou même sacrifier les véritables intérêts des peuples qui ont confiance en eux.

4. *Ce qu'il faudroit exiger du Pape.*

Quelque facheuses que soient ces dispositions d'un grand nombre des Catholiques, il sera encore plus facile de les corriger qu'il n'est facile de dissiper les autres partis qui se sont formés dans l'Etat ; car, pour dissiper ces partis, il faut gagner les principaux de ceux que les composent, l'un après l'autre, par des grâces et par des emplois ; au lieu qu'on est sur de réduire les Catholiques et leurs missionnaires en exigeant du Pape, 1°, qu'il ôte au Cardinal Gualterio la qualité de Protecteur d'Angleterre et le bref qu'il lui a donné, ce qui seroit facile à obtenir non seulement parceque le Pape n'a pas de confiance dans ce Cardinal, mais encore parceque il vouloit donner cette qualité au Cardinal Albani, son neveu, à qui on pourroit la laisser, ou bien au Cardinal Paulucci, Secrétaire d'Etat : ils paroissent l'un et l'autre bien-intentionnés pour la tranquillité du Royaume : 2°, qu'il revoque le Bref accordé au Chevalier de St. George pour la nomination des Evêches d'Irlande, et qu'il promette de ne lui donner jamais aucune part dans les affaires des missions des Trois Royaumes : 3°,[1] que si le Roi est mécontent de quelqu'un des Vicaires Apostoliques, le Pape le révoquera pour mettre en sa place un autre qui ne soit pas suspect ; 4°, qu'il y aura toujours à Rome un Catholique agréable à la Cour d'Angleterre, pour travailler conjointement avec les Cardinaux Protecteurs, et sous leur autorité, à toutes les affaires qui regarderont le gouvernement ecclésiastique des Catholiques des Trois Royaumes. Il faut choisir pour cela un sujet qui soit agréable au Pape, mais qui aussi fasse une profession ouverte de reconnoître les bontés que le Roi auroit pour ses sujets Catholiques, par un attachement sincère à ses intérêts. Il est facile de comprendre qu'un homme dans cette situation ne seroit pas inutile au Roi, soit en faisant valoir auprès des Princes Catholiques, qui ont tous correspondance à Rome, ses dispositions favorables pour ses sujets de leur religion, soit en prenant des mesures pour détourner ceux d'entr'eux qui, sous prétexte de servir l'Eglise, voudroient fournir au Chevalier de St. George des moyens pour exciter de nouveaux troubles ; soit, enfin, en veillant à l'exécution des articles communs avec le Pape, ou au moins en avertissant le Roi des atteintes qu'on pourroit y donner.

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[1] Cet article est essentiel, car en s'assurant des Vicaires Apostoliques, on s'assure aussi de tous les autres missionnaires ; puisque c'est un principe avoué de la religion Catholique que ces derniers n'ont de pouvoir pour enseigner et faire leurs fonctions que ce qu'il plait aux premiers de leur communiquer.

5. *Moyens d'obtenir du Pape ce qu'il faudroit lui démander.*

Les moyens de faire consentir le Pape à ces articles ne seroient pas difficiles à la Cour, car à travers ses ménagemens excessifs, on voit bien que ses sentimens dans le fond sont tels que le Roi en seroit satisfait, s'ils n'étoient comme etouffés par ses égards trop grands pour le Chevalier de St. George. Mais, ne surmonteroit-on pas aisement ces obstacles et ne reduiroit-on pas le Pape à agir comme il pense, si on employoit des motifs plus forts que ceux qui le retiennent? 1°, il faudroit intimider les Catholiques d'Angleterre en le menaçant de l'exécution des loix anciennes et nouvelles faites contr'eux, pour les obliger de presser eux-mêmes le Pape sur les propositions qui lui seront faites ; 2°, engager cinq ou six des principaux Catholiques qui se trouveront à Londres à écrire au Pape sur les menaces pressantes de la Cour d'Angleterre, et la nécessité de consentir aux conditions proposées ; 3°, les faire écrire aussi à l'Empereur, pour le supplier de donner ordre au Comte Gallas, son Ambassadeur à Rome, de les appuyer de son crédit auprès du Pape ; 4°, il sera bon de leur ordonner sur cette affaire un secret inviolable, pour empêcher que des missionnaires entêtés ne fassent écrire des lettres contraires par ceux qui auroient trop de confiance en eux ; 5°, on peut s'adresser pour l'exécution du projet à Mr. Edouard Blount, s'il est à Londres, ou, en son absence au Chevalier Guillaume Goring ; 6°, il seroit àpropos, pour assurer le succès, que la Cour d'Angleterre mande à son ambassadeur à Vienne de donner avis à l'Empereur que la lettre qu'il recevra des Catholiques a été écrite de concert avec le Gouvernement, et prier sa Majesté

Impériale de vouloir bien appuyer à Rome ces démandes, comme autant de conditions justes et raisonnables, auxquelles la Cour promet aux Catholiques la protection qu'il lui a démandée à la sollicitation du Pape même ; 7°, comme l'article par lequel on exigeroit du Pape de se servir d'un homme agréable à la Cour d'Angleterre pourroit faire plus de difficulté et paroître plutôt une grâce à démander qu'une condition à exiger, il sera mieux de ne le point exprimer dans la lettre des Catholiques au Pape, mais seulement de la faire solliciter par le Comte Gallas, l'homme du monde le plus propre à réduire le Pape en lui faisant envisager, s'il est nécessaire, ce que l'Italie peut craindre de l'Angleterre dans la conjoncture présente ; 8°, au reste, si les mesures que la Cour jugera àpropos de prendre pour ou contre les Catholiques pendant cette séance du Parlement pressoient, il faudroit les avertir d'envoyer un exprès à Rome par Vienne, à qui néanmoins il ne seroit pas àpropos de confier le secret de l'affaire. Ce sera par cette attention de la Cour sur le gouvernment ecclésiastique des Catholiques, plutôt que par les loix les plus sevères et les châtimens les plus rigoureux, qu'on les contiendra, et qu'on les rendra affectionnés au Gouvernement, comme il est aisé de remarquer en Hollande, ou les Catholiques ont toujours été très attachés à l'Etat, dans le tems même des premières guerres qu'il eut à soutenir contre l'Espagne pour la liberté. Les Etats ont toujours eu beaucoup d'attention sur les Vicaires Apostoliques et les autres missionnaires envoyés par le Pape ; et par là ils ont evité la facheuse nécessité d'employer les menaces et les châtimens.

6. *Ce qu'il seroit juste après cela d'espérer de la Cour.*

Si ce projet peut réussir, comme il y a tant de lieu de l'espérer, on ose se flatter que la Cour se portera d'elle-même— 1°, à arrêter les suites de l'Acte pour l'enregistrement des biens ; 2°, à laisser au moins le tems aux Catholiques de mériter par leur fidélité et leur obéissance la même liberté dont les Catholiques de Hollande jouissent, et qu'on ne refuse pas en Angleterre aux Sectes les plus fanatiques ; 3°, s'il ne s'agissoit que de justifier cette conduite de la Cour dans l'esprit des peuples, on croit pouvoir engager les Princes Protestants d'Allemagne à entrer en cette affaire, en exposant les avantages qu'ils retirent eux-mêmes de la tolérance qu'ils ont accordée aux Catholiques de leurs Etats ; 4°, quand même la Cour ne croiroit pas devoir encore porter jusque là les effets de sa clémence envers les Catholiques, il seroit toujours nécessaire de le leur faire espérer, et par eux au Pape, pour l'engager par ces vues à entrer dans celles de la Cour.

7. *Que les Catholiques ne prétexteront jamais la Dispense du Pape pour éluder leur Serment de Fidelité.*

Enfin le sentiment de quelques Théologiens Catholiques, que le Pape peut dispenser les sujets du serment de fidélité ne doit pas éloigner le Roi d'écouter ses sujets Catholiques, ou de compter sur leur fidélité ; 1°, parceque ce sentiment est hautement désavoué en France, et n'est pas regardé ailleurs comme appartenant à la foi ; 2°, parceque ses partisans les bornent aux Royaumes Catholiques, dont les Rois, selon eux, ne peuvent pas être déposés que lorsqu'en s'efforçant de renverser la religion du Royaume ils manquent aux conditions auxquelles ils ont reçu la couronne, et violent le serment qu'ils ont prêté à leurs peuples : or, ce principe n'est point inconnu ni désavoué en Angleterre ; toute la difference qu'il y a c'est que ces Théologiens font intervenir le Pape ou les Evêques, pour declarer aux Peuples que la religion est attaquée et l'Eglise en peril ; au lieu qu'on n'a que faire de déclaration ecclésiastique en Angleterre, ou la puissance suprême s'attribue également la connoissance des causes ecclésiastiques et civiles ; 3°, Les Etats Généraux et les Princes Protestants d'Allemagne sont si convaincus que ce sentiment ne les intéresse en aucune manière, qu'ils n'en ont jamais démandé le désaveu à leurs sujets, quoiqu'ils ayent des raisons de l'exiger que l'Angleterre n'a pas.

4°, Il est vrai que quelques Papes autrefois ont bien fait valoir cette doctrine: mais il y a déjà plusieurs siècles qu'ils sont hors d'état d'en faire aucun usage, et il ne paroît pas que les Princes même Catholiques soient disposés à leur laisser reprendre sitôt une autorité dont leurs prédécesseurs ont senti le poids. 5°, Si la cour le souhaitoit, il seroit aisé de faire donner une décision à la Sorbonne, qui établiroit l'obligation où sont tous les sujets d'Angleterre d'obéir au Roi et déclarereoit cette obligation indispensable. 6°, On pourroit même, dans la suite, prendre des mesures plus efficaces du coté de Rome, si cela étoit nécessaire, mais il n'est pas encore tems. 7°, La conduite des Catholiques qui n'ont jamais prêté serment de fidélité, et la répugnance que la plupart ont encore à le faire, est une preuve incontestable de leur sincérité et de leur bonne foi; car, s'ils n'étoient bien convaincus de l'obligation où ils seront d'accomplir fidellement leur serment sans pouvoir jamais en rechercher de dispense, ils ne feroient tant de difficulté de le prêter. La Cour a plus sujet de se défier de l'indigne facilité avec laquelle les Jacobites des autres religions ont tant de fois prêté et autant de fois violé les serments les plus solemnels: aucun ne les effraye, mais aussi aucun ne les arrête. 8°, Une reflexion qui mérite toute l'attention de la Cour, et par laquelle on termine ce mémoire, c'est, qu'en traitant les Catholiques avec la dernière rigueur, elle rendroit leur fidélité encore plus suspecte dans le tems même où il commenceroit à lui être important de s'en pouvoir mieux assurer. Car voici ce qu'il arriveroit: la confiscation des deux tiers des biens feroit changer de religion à un grand nombre des plus considerables, et par là les Pairs du Royaume rentreroient dans tous leurs droits et auroient séance dans la Chambre haute; d'autres auroient assez de crédit pour entrer dans la Chambre basse—or, quel fond pourroit on faire sur la fidélité des gens dont on auroit forcé la conscience, et qui n'auroient abjuré en dehors la religion dont ils sont persuadés dans le cœur que par la crainte de perdre leurs biens, et quels motifs ne leur fourniroit-on point par là d'entrer dans

les factions et les cabales qui pourront se former. On n'a rien semblable à appréhender en ne leur demandant que des serments politiques et civiles, qui ne blessent point leur conscience, et qui, par conséquent, ne sont pas même sujets à la dispense.

TRANSLATION.[1]

Memorial.

We are obliged to admit that, on various occasions, and particularly in the late rebellions, the Catholics of England have held a conduct which has justly irritated the King against them, and have deserved that his Majesty should leave them to the severity of the laws; but it is hoped that he will rather follow the impulse of his clemency for two reasons: 1stly, because all the Catholics are not guilty; nay, we may venture to say that the greater number have had no hand in the recent disturbances; 2ndly, because the very interest of the State seems to require that they should not be treated with the utmost rigour. It is this that the writer purposes to show in this Memorial, in which he will relate, 1stly, what passed at Rome on this business, after the arrival of the Chevalier de St. George; 2ndly, the change which the presence of that Chevalier occasioned in the resolutions of the Court of Rome; 3rdly, he will set forth the dispositions of the Catholics of England, since the new proceedings of the Pope; 4thly, what ought to be required of the Pope, in order to be fully assured of the Catholics; 5thly, the means that must be employed to induce the Pope to grant what should be desired of him; 6thly, what might justly be hoped for afterwards from the Court in favour of the Catholics; 7thly, it will be shown that the opinion of some Catholic theologians, respecting the power attributed to the Pope of dispensing subjects from their oath of allegiance, ought not to stop the Court in this business.

1. *Negociations at Rome.*

The Catholics of England, having reason to fear that the registration of their estates would be soon followed by the confiscation of two-thirds, several of them consulted theologians respecting what their conscience could allow them to do on this occasion; some, and the principal, sent to Rome, fully resolved to give the Court all the satisfactions which were not contrary to the principles of their religion. Now, 1stly, the first thing that was asked of the Pope was, not to communicate to Cardinal Gualterio any matters which were to be mentioned to him; because, being the agent of the Chevalier de St. George, he could do no other than thwart the negociation. The Pope, who dislikes the Cardinal, readily granted this preliminary; 2ndly, the first Memorial hereunto annexed was submitted to the Pope, and deliberated upon in several sittings of the Congregation, instituted for this business: and it was concluded that the Catholics were to take the oath of allegiance and obedience. 3rdly, In consequence, the result of the Congregation was sent to the Nuncio of the Netherlands, to be signified to the Vicars Apostolic and to the other missionaries in England. The Nuncio executed these orders immediately, but by the next courier he received counter-orders; for he was directed not to make any communication in writing, but only *viva voce*, to the missionaries who should pass through the Low Countries. 4thly, Meanwhile, the Pope was urgently pressed to give to this result the form of a Decree, which would have more authority for keeping the Catholics within the line of their duty, and giving satisfaction to the Court of England; but, after having for some time left room to hope for this Decree, it was resolved to write to the King of Spain a brief, stating that the Catholics of England were the more worthy of his protection on the part of their King, inasmuch as they were ready to take all the oaths of allegiance which the Catholic subjects of the States-General and of the Protestant Princes of Germany are accustomed to take. The brief was drawn up and communicated, but the alteration afterwards made by the retrenchment of the essential clause has rendered it nearly useless: not that the Pope had changed his mind at bottom, for he said several times that he would never give assistance to the Chevalier de St. George to excite fresh disturbances in the kingdom; nay, even a Friar, who was ready to set out, having thought to pay court to him, by saying that he should use his efforts to serve the Chevalier de St. George in England, the Pope ordered his superiors to prevent his departure. 5thly, All these measures having failed, and the Court of Rome being resolved not to give any thing in writing, though it made no difficulty to explain itself openly *viva voce*, occasion was taken of the far from equitable dispositions of some of the Vicars Apostolic, and, in particular, from information received at the time by the Pope, from an authentic source, concerning the intemperance and violence of one of them, to prevail upon the Pope to take measures capable of making amends for the Decree, and of obviating the consequences of so blind and extravagant a zeal; in fact, an extraordinary Congregation was held, the result of which was to be communicated from day to day, and nevertheless actually was not; but a promise was given that it should be sent to Brussels. There is every reason to believe that the design was either to recall this Vicar Apostolic, with whom the Pope was displeased on other accounts, or to appoint two commissioners on the spot to act independently of him in this business.

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[1] Not included among the original Papers, but made expressly for this work.

2. *Conduct of the Pope after the Arrival of the Chevalier de St. George at Rome.*

Cardinal Gualterio, having apparently penetrated into the secret of the Congregation, sent word to the Chevalier de St. George, that it was for his interest to repair as speedily as possible to Rome, to prevent the execution of the measures which had been taken. The Chevalier de St. George accordingly hastened his journey; but, before his arrival, a seventh and last Memorial, hereunto annexed, was presented to the Pope, tending to prove that one ought not to consult either him or his advice respecting the affairs of the Catholics of England: it appeared, nevertheless, that no attention was paid to this Memorial, and that the presence of the Chevalier produced great impressions at Rome; for, 1stly, the instructions that had been promised were not sent to Brussels; 2ndly, the Pope took no steps to check the violent conduct of the Vicar Apostolic, of which he was so thoroughly informed; 3rdly, he conferred on Cardinal Gualterio the quality of Protector of England, which he had always refused him, with a brief, giving him instructions concerning all the missions and the Colleges connected with them; 4thly, to the Chevalier de St. George he granted a brief, by which he acknowledges him to possess the same right of nominating to the bishoprics of Ireland, as the Kings of France and Spain have over the bishoprics of their kingdoms; but, to keep the knowledge of this circumstance from the Court of England, it was agreed that no mention should be made of this nomination in the Bulls sent to the Bishops nominated, but merely to signify in them that they are relative to the brief which has just been referred to.

3. *Dispositions of the Catholics.*

The favours conferred by the Court of Rome on the Chevalier de St. George, and the vain hope with which several Catholics flattered themselves that the late laws enacted against them would not be enforced, have considerably slackened the movements which they were making in order to take a suitable side. It cannot, indeed, be doubted that the suggestions of certain ignorant and prejudiced missionaries keep up the illusion. In this they are the more culpable, as views of interest or ambition, founded on the influence of the Chevalier de St. George at the

Court of Rome, lead them to misconceive or even to sacrifice the true interests of the people, who place confidence in them.

4. *What ought to be required of the Pope.*

Mischievous as are these dispositions of a great number of the Catholics, it will be easier to correct them than to disperse the other parties which have formed themselves in the State; for, in order to break up those parties, you must gain the principal persons composing them, one after another, by favours and offices; while, on the other hand, you are sure of reducing the Catholics and their missionaries by requiring of the Pope, 1stly, to take from Cardinal Gualterio the quality of Protector of England and the brief which he has given him, which it would be easy to obtain, because the Pope has no confidence in that Cardinal; and, further, because he pnrposed to confer that quality on Cardinal Albani, his nephew, to whom it might be left, or on Cardinal Paulucci, Secretary of State: they appear, both of them, well disposed for the tranquillity of the kingdom; 2ndly, to revoke the Brief granted to the Chevalier de St. George, for the nomination of the bishops of Ireland; and to promise never to give him any share in the concerns of the missions of the Three Kingdoms; 3rdly,[1] that if the King is dissatisfied with any of the Vicars Apostolic, the Pope shall recall him, and put in his place another, against whom there is no suspicion; 4thly, that there shall always be at Rome a Catholic agreeable to the Court of England, to transact, conjointly with the Cardinals Protectors, and under their authority, all business relating to the ecclesiastical government of the Catholics of the Three Kingdoms. For this purpose, there must be selected a person who is agreeable to the Pope, but who also makes an open profession of gratitude for the favours bestowed by the King on his Catholic subjects, by sincere attachment to his interests. It is easy to be conceived that a man in this situation might render good service to the King, either by impressing upon the Catholic Princes, all of whom have correspondence at Rome, with his favourable dispositions towards his subjects of their religion; or, by taking measures for diverting such of them as, upon pretext of serving the Church, should purpose to supply the Chevalier de St. George with the means of exciting fresh disturbances; or, lastly, in attending to the execution of the articles agreed upon with the Pope, or at least in apprizing the King of any infraction of them which may take place.

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[1] This article is essential; for, by securing the Vicars Apostolic, you likewise secure all the other missionaries; since it is a professed principle of the Catholic religion that these latter have no power to teach or to perform their functions but what the former are pleased to impart to them.

5. *Means of obtaining from the Pope what must be demanded of him.*

The means of making the Pope consent to these articles would not be difficult to the Court, for, amidst his excessive shuffling, it is obvious that his sentiments at bottom are such as the King would be satisfied with, were they not stifled, as it were, by his too great consideration for the Chevalier de St. George. But might not these obstacles be easily surmounted, and the Pope obliged to act as he thinks, if motives stronger than those which bind him were employed? 1stly, the Catholics of England must be intimidated by threatening them with the execution of the laws, old and new, made against them, to oblige them to urge the Pope themselves on the subject of the proposals that will be made to him; 2ndly, five or six of the principal Catholics in London must be prevailed upon to write to the Pope respecting the pressing threats of the Court of England, and the necessity of consenting to the proposed conditions; 3rdly, they must be made to write also to the Emperor, to beseech him to give orders to Count Gallasch, his ambassador at Rome, to support them by his influence with the Pope; 4thly, it will be well to enjoin them to observe inviolable secrecy upon this subject, to prevent wrong-headed missionaries from getting contrary letters written by those who have too much confidence in them; 5thly, for the execution of the plan, application might be made to Mr. Edward Blount, if he is in London, or, in his absence, to Sir William Goring; 6thly, it would be advisable, in order to ensure success, that the Court of England should desire its ambassador at Vienna to apprize the Emperor that the letter, which he will receive from the Catholics, has been written in concert with the Government, and to beg his Imperial Majesty to support at Rome these demands as so many just and reasonable conditions, upon which the Court promises the Catholics the protection that he has asked of it at the solicitation of the Pope himself; 7thly, as the article by which the Pope would be required to employ a man agreeable to the Court of England might create greater difficulty and appear rather a favour asked than a condition required, it would be better not to express it in the letter of the Catholics to the Pope, but only to let it be solicited by Count Gallas, the fittest person in the world to reduce the Pope, by representing to him, if it be necessary, what Italy may have to fear from England in the present conjuncture; 8thly, for the rest, if the measures which the Court shall think fit to take for or against the Catholics, during this session of Parliament, were pressing, it would be necessary to give them notice to send an express to Rome by way of Vienna, whom, however, it would be well not to trust with the secret of the affair. It will be by this attention of the Court to the ecclesiastical government of the Catholics, rather than by their most rigorous laws and the severest punishments, that it will control them, and render them well disposed to the Government, as it is easy to remark, in Holland, where the Catholics have always been strongly attached to the State, even at the time of the first wars which it had to sustain against Spain for liberty. The States have always kept a vigilant eye upon the Vicars Apostolic, and the other missionaries sent by the Pope; and thereby they have avoided the unpleasant necessity of employing threats and punishments.

6. *What it would be just to hope for afterwards from the Court.*

If this plan can succeed, as there is so much reason to hope, one ventures to flatter one's self that the Court will proceed of its own motion: 1stly, to put a stop to the operation to the Act for the registration of estates; 2ndly, at least to allow the Catholics time to deserve, by their loyalty and obedience, the same liberty which the Catholics in Holland enjoy, and which is not denied in England to the most fanatical sects; 3rdly, if the only thing required was to justify this conduct of the Court in the mind of the people, the writer thinks that the Protestant Princes of Germany might be induced to enter into this business, and to set forth the advantages which they themselves derive from the toleration which they have granted to the Catholics in their dominions; 4thly, even though the Court should not think it right as yet to extend so far the effects of its clemency towards the Catholics, it would still be necessary to leave them, and, through them, the Pope, room to hope, in order to induce him by these views to enter into those of the Court.

7. *That the Catholics will never make the Pope's Dispensation a Pretext for eluding their Oath of Allegiance.*

Lastly, the opinion of some Catholic Theologians that the Pope can dispense subjects from the Oath of Allegiance must not render the King averse to listen to his Catholic subjects, or to reckon upon their loyalty: 1stly, because that opinion is strongly disavowed in France, and is not elsewhere considered as belonging to the faith; 2ndly, because its partisans limit it to the Catholic kingdoms, whose Kings, according to them, cannot be deposed, unless, in striving to overturn the religion of the kingdom, they break the conditions on which they received the crown, and violate the oath which they took to their subjects. Now, this principle is neither unknown nor disavowed in England; the whole difference that there is being this, that those theologians make the Pope or the Bishops interpose and declare to the people that religion is attacked and the Church in danger, whereas no ecclesiastical declaration is needed in England, where the supreme power attributes to itself the cognizance alike of ecclesiastical and civil causes; 3rdly, the States-General and the Protestant Princes of Germany are so convinced that this opinion does not concern them in any way, that they have never required the disavowal of it from their subjects, though they have reasons for demanding it which England has not; 4thly, it is true that some Popes, in former times, have enforced this doctrine; but it is several centuries since they were in a condition to make any use of it; and it does not appear that even the Catholic Princes are disposed to allow them to resume in hurry an authority which their predecessors felt the weight of; 5thly, it would be easy, if the Court wished it, to obtain a decision from the Sorbonne, which would establish the obligation incumbent on all subjects in England to obey the King, and would declare this obligation indispensable; 6thly, more efficacious measures might even be taken hereafter in regard to Rome, if that were necessary, but it is not yet time; 7thly, the conduct of the Catholics who have never taken the Oath of Allegiance, and the aversion which most of them still feel to take it, furnish an incontestable proof of their sincerity and good faith; for, if they were not thoroughly convinced of the obligation which they will lie under to fulfil their Oath, without ever being capable of seeking dispensation from it, they would not make so many difficulties about taking it. The Court has more reason to distrust the unworthy facility with which the Jacobites of the other religions have so often taken, and as often broken, the most solemn oaths: none alters them, nor does any stop them short; 8thly, a reflexion which deserves the whole attention of the Court, and which shall conclude this Memorial is that, in treating the Catholics with the utmost severity, it would render their loyalty still more suspicious, at the very time when it would begin to be of importance to be able to make more sure of them. For, observe what would happen: the confiscation of two-thirds of the estates would make a great number of the most considerable of them change their religion, and thereby the Peers of the realm would recover all their rights, and would have seats in the Upper House; others would possess sufficient influence to get into the Lower House—now, what reliance could be placed on the loyalty of men whose conscience would have been forced, and who would have outwardly abjured the religion of which they are persuaded in their heart, merely for fear of losing their estates, and what motives would not thereby be furnished them for entering into the factions and cabals which might be formed? Nothing of the kind is to be apprehended from requiring of them merely political and civil oaths, which do not hurt their conscience, and consequently are not even subjects for dispensation.

Mr. Strickland to Mr. Secretary Craggs.

Vienna, February 8, 1719.

M. de St. Saphorin having acquainted Lord Stanhope with my arrival and first transactions here, I have thought it my duty not to trouble you with any letter of mine, till I could give you a satisfactory account of the business entrusted to my care. And now it is with great joy that I have the honour to acquaint you: 1st, that M. de Valincour (the Emperor[1]) and his friends, having duly weighed the scheme and perused the letter proposed to be sent to the Doge, (Pope) approve of both, and that, being satisfied of the equity and necessity of every demand, they are ready to exert their interest at Venice, (Rome) and bring the old Doge (Pope) to comply with such reasonable terms; 2nd, at my request, in the mean time, they should send copies of the scheme and letter to M. Marbellini, (Count Gallas) their agent at Venice, (Rome) with directions to him to communicate immediately in a letter to me, under a cover to the Marquis de Prié, whatever advice or intelligence may facilitate or secure the success. I have always heard that M. Marbellini (Count Gallas) behaved himself in England to your satisfaction, and certainly no man can better inform you what may now be obtained at Venice, (Rome) and by what means, I am apt to believe, the old Gentleman (Pope) will give great attention to such arguments as, he may fear, may be proposed by some friends (the fleet) about Naples; 3rd, orders will at the same time be sent to M. Marbellini (Count Gallas) to procure such a denomination as, by setting me above Mr.

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[1] The explanatory names are interlined in the original by another hand, probably by Mr. Craggs himself.

Massy, (Bishop Gifford) and Mr. Barton, will tie up the irresolute and the faint-hearted with you, as well as the old Gentleman (Pope) himself, to make use of me for the thorough and honest performance of the conditions required. Thus, sir, whatever has been demanded of M. de Valincour (the Emperor) is now fully obtained. I freely own that the success and unusual despatch I have met with here is entirely owing to M. de Saphorin's interest in this Court, and his great zeal and diligence in the execution of all Mr. Wise's (the King's) commands: and, for my part, I can pretend to no other merit but this, that I have punctually followed his directions. Having now nothing more to do here but to thank and to take leave of M. de Valincour, (the Emperor) and such friends as he has consulted upon this occasion, I design to make the best of my way to Bruxelles, where I hope to find M. Marbellini's (Count Gallas's) answer, and may receive your further commands under a cover to Marquis de Prié, if you have not at present any ordinary correspondent there.

The business lies now on your side, and I believe you may think fit to begin with the preliminary mentioned in a paper you have by you. Mr. Massy's (Bishop Gifford's) and Mr. Barton's distemper is such as will admit of little or no company in the beginning of a cure. Those gentlemen's friends will be doubtless very solicitous about them for more reasons than one, and so you will have proper opportunities enough of letting them know more of your mind. Such of them as are averse to sincere and thorough measures will not be fond of sending for me; but I believe it may be worth your while to insist upon it, as a preliminary before you speak to many or say much of the matter.

Now, as to the further steps to be taken in the prosecution of this affair, it will be requisite that the same persons who shall subscribe the letter to the Doge (Pope) write also to M. de Valincour, (the Emperor) that so he may seem to engage in their cause upon their own solicitation, and not upon any direct motion from Mr. Wise (the King) or his friends. I ought to have observed to you that the scheme abovementioned is the same in substance with that you have, but thrown into another form and fitted to the genius of this Court, according to M. de St. Saphorin's directions. This I can faithfully assure you of, that, if I was formerly desirous of procuring a competent subsistence to myself by Mr. Wise's (the King's) recommendation, I am now much more desirous of spending it all and my whole life in his service, and that, next to him, I am very sensible I am to none so obliged as to yourself, and so I must ever remain, with due respect and a true sense of all your favours,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
THOMAS STRICKLAND.

F. Floyd (Dr. Strickland) to Mr. Secretary Craggs (apparently).

July 1, 1719.

The case is again altered since yesterday. I find they designed to avoid speaking any more to me, and were in hopes a great man, involved in so much other business, might take general compliments and protestations for a proper answer to the kind proposals made to them. But what Mr. S. told one of them that they must return their answer to me dashed all their hopes; and accordingly, when they came to me, I argued the case so vehemently with them, and endeavoured to set before their eyes so many dangers on one side, and so many advantages on the other, that, after a long debate, they resolved at last to sign the proper letters, and have accordingly once more desired me to finish and copy them out for signing. This I hope to have done by noon; so, if their heart does not fail them again, all will be done by night.

I must do justice to the great men among them so far as to observe to you that, as they were at first very willing and even eager in the business, so all the difficulties they have made since are entirely owing to insinuations and cavils of the most inconsiderable person in the whole number.

In the main, I have now good hopes: but, as there is no relying upon persons so easily drawn away, in the heat of the debate I slipped the paper in your hand into my pocket, and accordingly send it you with this: so, at least, we are now *in statu quo*. This is all at present from, sir, yours, &c.,

F. FLOYD.

Mr. Secretary Craggs to Lord Stanhope, at Hanover.

Whitehall, July 7, 1719.

My Lord—I promised your Lordship, in one of my private letters of the 30th past, that, whatever became of the affair relating to Roman Catholics, I would give you an account of it. It happened, as I did then imagine it would, that the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Walgrave were overswayed. Charles Howard, who continues obstinate to the last, from a mere spirit of opposition, for Strickland says his intentions at bottom are otherwise good; but he is a wrong-headed fellow, and spoiled all. However, I afterwards met with Lord Walgrave, who began to excuse himself upon what had passed, and would have proposed some other expedient to me upon the affair; but I showed an indifference, and told him that, if he had any thing to say, he must consult Dr. Strickland, for I would meddle no more in it.

They had affected to be reserved with the Doctor in all their deliberations, but this answer made them alter their course; they went to his house, where they gave their reasons of fear, conscience, honour, all which the Doctor combated strenuously, and at last convinced them of the necessity of signing the two letters, which they agreed to do, and desired him to draw them up immediately, and they would come in the afternoon to sign them. The letters being prepared, they came according to appointment, but their resolutions changed. Charles Howard and the Duke withdrew several times into the back-room to consult, where, no doubt, the former got the better again of the latter, for they determined at last not to sign, and so left the Doctor. The Duke went immediately afterwards out of town, but first sent me a letter, of which I enclose a copy. That will best show your Lordship what he had to say for himself on the subject, and a copy of mine, also enclosed, what answer I made him upon it.

The matter being thus broke off, I have determined to put the thing in execution which I said in my former I intended in that case, by tendering the oaths to Howard, and seizing Bishop Gifford and Grey (the Earl of Shrewsbury). But, as this proceeding is chiefly with a view to make them squeak, I would contrive to do it in such a manner as not to put them out of my own power by overacting it into that of the law. For which end I have desired Delafaye to pick out a couple of discreet Justices of Peace of his acquaintance, that will, as of themselves, take up Howard and Gifford, and do just what Delafaye shall bid them, without carrying their zeal too far. And as for Grey, I think some trusty and understanding messenger must be sent to manage him, for he is seventeen miles off. Strickland persuades himself this method will have its effect, and make them ready to sign even stronger letters than those already proposed to them. And, as they know the Doctor intends very shortly for France, and that they are allowed no other conferent but him, it may be expected we shall quickly know what they will do.

I take care to send with your letter a private letter from the Duke of Bolton to me, which was omitted in my last, and likewise another, which I received last night, which will show your Lordship what temper Ireland is in upon the opening of that Parliament.

The Duke of Norfolk to Mr. Secretary Craggs.

July 1, 1719.

Sir—In pursuance to the directions which you left with me when I had the honour of seeing you at Mr. Strickland's, I showed the paper you gave me to those of the gentlemen named in it that were in town. The shortness of the time in which we were to give our answer, and the secrecy you enjoined in the affair, has put us under very great difficulties. We were all very unwilling to let any opportunity slip, in which we might show our readiness in coming into any thing that would show our good intentions; but, being but four of those named in the paper, could not venture to answer for the other four whose signing was required, much less to engage for so many others that are not in town, and, if they were, could not be consulted. This being the chief difficulty at present, it will be needless to trouble you with the objections made to some of the Articles, particularly that of application to foreign powers; and we would much rather owe whatever favour we receive to your generous disposition than to any other solicitation whatever; and we cannot but flatter ourselves, when more of the parties concerned are in town, you will retain the same favourable intentions towards us you were so good as to own: and I am bold to say, for my own part, and I believe I may answer not only for those I have spoken to, but also for numbers, that, whenever time gives us an opportunity to meet, and you leave to acquaint them, you will find so suitable and unanimous a disposition to receive the favourable and generous indulgence you are pleased to offer. For my own part, I cannot but conceive great hopes of success in this affair, since it is undertaken by so generous a person as yourself, for the relief of so many distressed people, and which shall always be remembered as the greatest obligation done to,

Sir, yours, &c., NORFOLK.

The paper you gave me I left with Mr. Strickland.

Mr. Secretary Craggs to the Duke of Norfolk.

July 3, 1719.

My Lord—I have received the honour of your letter, for which I beg leave to return you my particular thanks. When I saw you, I explained to your Grace the reasons which put me upon giving what I thought a good-natured piece of advice. I wish my good intentions be not better explained to your

Grace by what may very soon happen; for I was hastened in my propositions by pressing instances of some of my friends to think of very different remedies from those mentioned to you. I shall, I hope, still obtain the only private view I could possibly have in this affair, which was to take an opportunity of assuring you that I was with great respect what I still am, &c.,

J. C.

Extract of an Act for Inquiring of the Estates of certain Traitors and Popish Recusants, &c.

1st. Georgii, fol. 663.—By the Act intituled an Act for appointing Commissioners to inquire of the Estates of certain Traitors and of Popish Recusants, and of Estates given to superstitious uses in order to raise money out of them severally for the use of the public:

Fol. 677.—(After a recital that his Majesty had signified, by a message to his Commons, his consent that the two-third parts of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases, and farms of all such persons as then were or should be Popish Recusants convict, which, by the laws, might be seized into his Majesty's hands for such Recusancy, and the rents, &c., thereof might be levied and applied towards his Majesty's supply for suppressing the late Rebellion) To the end the public might have the benefit of his Majesty's said condescension, by perception of the rents, &c., of those estates, or by levying tax in lieu thereof, it was enacted that the Commissioners should and might, and were thereby empowered and required, to enquire of the names of all persons who, during the continuance of the commission, in the execution of the said trust, did or should stand convicted as Popish Recusants in England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, and all lands, &c., which such Recusants, or other persons in trust for them, should stand seized or possessed of, and the parishes where the same did lie, and the names of the tenants, and the rent payable for the same, and the utmost value thereof by the year, and the respective interests in law or equity which such Recusants, or any persons in trust for them, should have therein, and how much the two-third parts of such estates liable to seizure for the use of the public amounted to; and that particularly the said Commissioners, or any of them, were to inquire of all such Recusants and Papists, and such whose parents were Papists, who had not taken the Oaths and subscribed the Declaration prescribed in an Act of that Session of Parliament, and within the time appointed thereby, or in default thereof, should not register their names and estates in the manner prescribed by that Act, and in the time limited thereby, and what lands, &c., in England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed should (by any Act of that Session of Parliament) be forfeited for default of taking the Oaths or subscribing the said Declaration, or not registering as aforesaid, and of the proportions of such forfeitures accruing to the King for the use of the public.

Oath.

I, N. N., do promise and swear that I will pay a true and entire submission to his Majesty King George, and no ways disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Realm; and that I will not assist any person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, against his said Majesty or Government. So help me God!

Declaration.

I do further declare and protest that neither the Pope nor any foreign power whatsoever shall dispense or absolve me from the Oath I have here taken.

Le Serment.

Je, N. N., promets et jure que je payerai une véritable et entière soumission à sa Majesté le Roi George, et que je ne troublerai pas d'aucune manière la paix et la tranquillité de cet Royaume, et que je n'assisterai point aucune personne, qui que ce soit, directement ou indirectement, contre sa dite Majesté ou contre son Gouvernement. Ainsi Dieu me aide!

La Declaration.

De plus, je déclare et proteste que ni le Pape ni aucune autre autorité du dehors, quelle que ce puisse être, me dispensera ou m'absoudra du serment que je viens de prêter.

Juramentum.

Ego, N. N., promitto et juro quod præstabo veram et integram submissionem Majestati Suæ Regi Georgio, et quod nullo modo turbabo pacem et tranquillitatem hujus Regni, et quod non auxiliabor ullam personam quamcunque, directé vel indirecté, contra supradictam suam Majestatem vel ejus Gubernationem. Sic me adjuvet Deus.

Declaratio.

Ego porro (ulterius) declaro et protestor quod neque Papa, neque ulla alia authoritas extranea, cujuscunque sit naturæ, me dispensabit, vel absolvebit a Juramento quod hic præstiti.

Memorandums respecting Applications to be made in behalf of Dr. Strickland.[1]

To Lord Stair.

To present Dr. S. to the Regent,[2] and, in the King's name, ask an Abbaye for him.

To Mr. Law.[3]

That Lord Stair, having, in the King's name, asked an Abbaye for Dr. S., who is obliged to go to Vienna about other business, it will be for his Majesty's service, and very acceptable to him, if Mr. Law will use all his interest with the Regent to the end that gentleman may, according to the King's desire, be soon and well provided.

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[1] Apparently in the Doctor's handwriting, and designed to refresh the memory of Mr. Secretary Craggs.

[2] The profligate Duke of Orleans, Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV.

[3] No doubt, John Law, the Scotch adventurer, projector of the notorious Mississippi scheme, who became Comptroller of the Finances, and whose influence was for a time all-powerful in France.

To M. St. Saphorin, at Vienna.

To procure the bearer a proper introduction to the Court of Vienna, and, by their means, a title *in partibus* from Rome. To concert matters with him, and procure instructions such as they shall agree on to be with all speed transmitted to Count Gallash.

It may be thought requisite M. de St. Saphorin should have leave to use the King's name for what may evidently appear to be for his service in the prosecution of this affair.

2. ON THE MEANS BY WHICH THE UNION WAS EFFECTED.

Extract of a Letter to the Marquess of Londonderry, dated December 1, 1847.[1]

Religious enthusiasm, however degraded, requires only the immolation of the mortal portion of the human being; political superstition demands a more cruel and costly offering—it claims as a sacrifice the character of its victim. On Tuesday next an attempt will be made to sacrifice the fame of the distinguished dead to the idol of Repeal. On that day, to use the words of your illustrious brother, "a motion to inflame, not to inform," will be made in the House of Commons, to inquire into the means by which the Union was carried, and the economical consequences of that measure. It may be assumed that, on Tuesday evening, the calumny of Faction, which alleges that the Union was carried by violence and cruelty, will be a staple argument of debate. As the calumny of the demagogue will, on that evening, become the language of the Senate, and, if uncontradicted, may form the text of the historian, I venture to supply, in refutation, the exact words, which may have escaped your attention.

At a meeting of the Irish Bar, held on Sunday, December

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[1] From a resident in Dublin, well acquainted with all the history of the Union, and who was so obliging as to offer me his assistance in any work concerning Ireland.

9, 1798, Mr. Burrowes thus expressed himself—"That this measure [the Union] will not be carried by fraud or by force, I am fully convinced. The illustrious nobleman who presides here, and whom I am disposed to contemplate as a missionary from Heaven, sent to stop the effusion of human blood and the progress of human crimes, is my security."—*Report of the Debate of the Irish Bar.* Moore, Dublin, 1798.

At a meeting of the County of Dublin, held January 4, 1799, A. Kirkpatrick, Esq., High Sheriff, in the chair, Mr. Leeson said, "He gave a certain delegated character (Marquess Cornwallis) the highest credit for his wishes and his efforts to stop the effusion of Irish blood, but he lamented that this *cruel mercy* was to be purchased at the expense of the independence, liberty, and prosperity of Ireland."—Jones, Dublin, 1799.

On the debate on the Address, in the House of Commons, on the 22nd and 23rd of January, Mr. (afterwards Sir Jonah) Barrington said: "Both sides had bled and were weak, and what was called the lenient system was adopted: the rebel was sent back to rob and murder, and to burn; the yeoman and the loyalist were either insulted, oppressed, or degraded, and, in some instances, *executed.*"

In the debate on the amendment to the Address, 15th and 16th of January, 1800, Mr. (now Lord) Plunket spoke as follows: "I do not wish to inquire too minutely why the embers of extinguished rebellion have been so long suffered to exist—I do not wish to derogate from the praise to which the noble Lord may be entitled for his clemency: its very excesses, if they do not claim praise, are at least entitled to indulgence."—(Dublin, 1800.)

Here is the evidence of the most eloquent, as well as the most inveterate enemies of the Union, that peace, justice, and mercy were among the means employed to effect that measure.

INDEX.

Abercorn, Marquess of, to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, ii. 343

Abercrombie, Sir Ralph, to the Lord-Lieutenant, on the powers confided to him, i. 168—to Lord Castlereagh, on the defence of Dublin, 186 — encloses a return of suspected persons, 187—appointed to the command in Scotland, 189—success of, ii. 393

Aberdeen, Earl of, to the Marquess of Londonderry, on his Vindication of Lord Castlereagh, i. 132—alluded to, 333

Absentee Tax, memorandum respecting, ii. 334

Abstract of the returns of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland, relative to their Church, iv. 97

Act for inquiring into the estates of traitors and Popish Recusants, extract from, iv. 476

Adair, Rev. Mr., i. 314

Addington, Mr., said to be the deputy of Mr. Pitt, iv. 48—his official intentions, 78—opinion of Lord Cornwallis of, 80

Albini, Cardinal, iii. 12

Aldborough, Earl of, arms concealed on his estate, ii. 185—death of, iv. 15

Alexander, Alderman, ii. 353, 431

———, Henry, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the probable resignation of the Speaker, ii. 101—on the report of the Secret Committee on the Irish Rebellion, Irish preachers of treason in America, and hatred of the Americans to the French, 242

———, Mr., M.P , application of, on behalf of the rebel, Bond, i. 348

———, Rev. Mr. (afterwards Bishop of Down), to A. Knox, Esq., on the proceedings of Lord Caulfeild, ii. 123

Alexandria, attack on by the French, i. 112

Allied Powers, combination of, i. 113

Allies, the, separate peace made by, iii. 341

Altamont, Earl of, ii. 117—to ——, on the disposition of various influential persons towards the Union, 327—honour conferred on, iii. 321

America, United States of, repudiation of Irish rebels by, i. 395, 405, 413, 414

America, animosity of, to the French, ii. 243

Anacreon, the, a corvette sent to invade Ireland, i. 406, 408

Anderson, Mr., outlines of a Union by, iii. 27

Anstruther, Colonel, i. 242

Antonelli, Cardinal, iii. 12, 89, 108, 133

Antrim, County of, proclaimed, ii. 73—disaffection in, 78

Archer, Mr., application of, on behalf of the State Prisoners, i. 347

Armagh, proposed University at (See University)

Arms, how obtained by the United Irish, i. 362—40,000 stand of, demanded of the French, 369

Armstrong, Captain, betrays the Rebel Directory, i. 148

Army, the, demoralization of, i. 342, 343

———, the French in Ireland, General Humbert's address to, i. 384, 388

Artillery, the Irish, said to be devoted to the Rebels, i. 301, 306

Asgill, Sir Charles, i. 161—to Sir R. Abercromby, on the state of the County of Kilkenny, 184, 226

Assassination, system of, i. 358—Committee of, *ib.*

Attainder, Bill of, i. 322

Atterbury, Bishop, case of, i. 163

Auckland, Lord, ii. 378—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish Cotton Duties and the export of wool, iii. 248, 283, 292, on the delay of debate on the Union, and Countervailing duties, 262, 265, 278—on the state of Parliamentary business, and woollen duties, 276—on the duties, representation of Ireland, and efforts of Bonaparte, 276—on Irish Parliamentary business, 292—on the English and Irish Churches, &c. 293, 295—on the introduction of the Union Act in Ireland, and aspect of affairs, 307—on the Regulation of duties under the Union, 308—on Inland navigation, Continental affairs, and Successes of Buonaparte, 353

Austria, arrangements respecting, at the Congress of Vienna, i. 31, *et seq.*—dis-

position of, ii. 30, iii. 342—success of, ii. 248—misarrangements of, regarding the war, 354
Aylmer, "General," a leader in the Rebellion, ii. 182, 372
———, Lord, iii. 335

Bailey, Mr., a rebel agent in France, i. 397, 398, 409; ii. 5, 360, *et seq.*
Balan, Mr., to Mr. Wickham, concerning Irish recruits for the Prussian service, ii. 292, 300
Ball, Mr., ii. 168
Bandon, Viscount, promotion of, iii. 321
Bank of Ireland, state of, in 1799, ii. 294
Bankes, Mr. iii. 285
Bankhead, Rev. Dr., to Lord Castlereagh, on the grant of money to the Presbyterian Synod, iii. 388—alluded to, 394
Bantry, intended landing of the French at, i. 367
Bar, the Irish, meetings of, i. 343; ii. 37—hostile to the Union, 17, 27—assembles as a corps, to oppose it, 35—decides that its proceedings are illegal, 37—opposition of, to Government, 52—resolves to give precedence to the Ex-Prime-Sergeant, 132
Barberi, Monseigneur, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on promoting harmony between the courts of England and Rome, iii. 476—Translation, 477
Barney, Commodore, ii. 266
Barrack department, the Irish, expenses of, iii. 370
Barras, M., ii. 342
Barrett, Dr., iii. 230
Barrington, Sir Jonah, his pamphlet on the Union, ii. 44, 45, 46—opposes Government, 190
Barry, Rev. Michael, ii. 387, *et seq.*
Bartholomew, Captain, to Mr. Nepean, with intelligence of the fleets, iii. 319
Bayham, Lord, (afterwards Earl Camden) to the Hon. Robert Stewart, on the proposed Union, i. 156 (See Camden)
Beaghan, James, implicates the Irish Catholics, ii. 418 to 426—his execution, 422, 424
Beard, Henry, a rebel, ii. 238
Beauclerk, Lord A., i. 418
Bective, Lord, ii. 309
Bedouin, Admiral, ii. 269
Bellew, Mr., i. 344; ii. 46, 47, 50
———, Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala, ii. 188; iii. 85
Belmore, Lord, ii. 439; iii. 378
Belvedere, Lord, iii 24
Benefices, disposal of, in England, before the Reformation, iv. 173
Bentinck, Lord William, proclamation of, to the Genoese, i. 35, *et seq.*—appointed governor of Madras, 117
Beresford, Rev. G. la Poer, iii. 419
———, Right Hon. John Claudius, to Lord Castlereagh, on the disposition of Dublin towards the Union, ii. 41, 50—censures the conduct of Mr. Saurin regarding the Union, 79—proposed removal of, from office, 91—his resignation, 131 — to Lord Castlereagh, on monetary arrangements, 378—on the quantity of malt liquors and spirits made in Ireland, iii. 175—to Mr. Cooke, on the amount of the Irish revenue, 178—alluded to, 243 —opinion of, on the proposed duties, 252, 303—to Lord Castlereagh, on woollen and excise duties, &c., 280, 301
Bill, for making a competent provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, iv. 425
—— of pardon, the, (See Pardon)
Binns, the Brothers, leaders of the rebels, i. 255; ii. 4, 194
Birch, Dr., to the Duke of Portland, on behalf of his son, i. 393—receives orders for the release of his son, 396
———, George, Esq. iii. 389—to Lord Castlereagh, on the grant to the Presbyterian clergy of Ireland, 393
Bird, Mr. Wilberforce, M.P., iii. 309
Black, Rev. Dr. Robert, to Lord Castlereagh, concerning Presbyterians of Ulster, iii. 165—on the rights of Dissenters, 287—on the sentiments of Dissenters towards the Government, 304—alluded to, 393—to Lord Castlereagh, on the state allowance to Dissenting ministers, 421—on the provision for the Presbyterian clergy, iv. 67—on the disposition of the proposed allowance, 85
Blackstone, Judge, his opinion of the laws against Catholics, iii. 480
Blackwell, Captain, appointed "Adjutant" to "General" Tandy, i. 306—alluded to, 400, 408—account of, 406—compels Tandy to make him a General, *ib.*—arrested at Hamburg, ii. 99, 100
Blackwood, Sir James, Secretary to Lord Castlereagh, on the terms of the Union, iii 20
————, Sir John, to Lord Castlereagh, relative to an official communication from his Lordship, ii. 113—sentiments of, on the Union, 114
————, Rev. John, to Lord Castlereagh, on the Bill, to amend the Insurrection Act, ii. 176
Blake, Mr., M.P., ii. 47—title conferred on, iii. 321
Blanchman, Captain, attempt of, to land officers and stores in Ireland, i. 400, 402
Blaquière, Sir John, ii. 85

Bligh, Captain, on the movements of the Texel fleet, ii. 312—alluded to, iii. 381—surveys the harbour of Dublin, 424

Bodkin, Rev. Dr. V. (Roman Catholic) ii. 188; iii. 89

Boissière, M. de la, intelligence brought by from France, i. 374

Bonaparte, Napoleon, his escape from Elba, i. 60—rumoured defeat of, 265—rumoured death of, 343—supposed desperate situation of, 405—letters from, ii. 242—efforts of, 278—reported defeat of, at Lodi, 336—successes, and popularity of, 349, 354, 355

Bond, Oliver, apprehended, i. 148—condemned, 150—pardoned, *ib.*—efforts made on behalf of, 248, 348—respite of, 349—endeavours of, to obtain a confession from his fellow-prisoners, 351

Bonham, Mr. (a rebel), i. 254; ii. 7

Borgia, Cardinal, Pro-Prefect of the Propaganda, iii. 12—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on a provision for the Cardinal of York, 14, 16—in favour of a State provision for the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy, 385

Boroughs, the Irish, disinclination of proprietors of, to the Union, ii. 92—proposed reduction in the representation of, 203, 425—compensation for, authorized, 204—on reducing, iii. 56—representation of, 305—compensation for, 360—list of, at the time of the Union, 428—notes and observations on, 430—the principal, 433—precincts of, 434

Bosch, Captain, secret information respecting, ii. 229

Bouillon, Prince of (See D'Auvergne)

Bourdon, Leonard, i. 235, 268

Bowen and Jordan, Messrs., to the Duke of Portland, on the arrest of certain rebels, i. 335

Boyd, Captain, on the declaration of a condemned rebel, ii. 424—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Anti-Union petition of Lord Downshire, iii. 231

Boyle, Lord, ii. 84

Bradshaw, Robert, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh, on public opinion in the north of Ireland on the Union, iii. 224

Braschi, Cardinal, iii. 82—appointed Protector of the English Catholics, 83

Bray, Rev. Thomas, (Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel) to Rev. Dr. Troy, on the address from the Catholics in favour of a Union, ii. 344—alluded to, 345, 347

Bremen, secret intelligence from, ii. 227, 228, 229

Brest, preparations at, for a new invasion of Ireland, ii. 193, 194, 206—movements at, 266, 296, 297, 376—desertion of seamen at, 378—French fleet prevented from leaving, iii. 321—opinion of Lord St. Vincent on the blockade of, 376 (See also Secret Intelligence)

Bridport, Lord, vigilance of, i. 329—alluded to, 334; ii, 296, 299—to Lord Castlereagh, announcing his arrival in Bantry Bay, 323—prevents the French fleet from leaving Brest, iii. 320

Brougham, Lord, letter to, from the Marquess of Londonderry, i. 89—his remarks relative to Lord Castlereagh, 90, *et seq.*—to Lord Castlereagh, offering to become Ambassador to the United States, 119

Browne, Mr. Hawkins, his high opinion of Lord Castlereagh, iv. 30

Brownlow, Mr., ii. 123

Bruce, Rev. Dr., iii. 166—to Lord Castlereagh, on the privileges and interests of the Irish Presbyterians under the Union, 266—alluded to, 304

Bruix, M. (French Minister of Marine), anonymous letter to, on the capture of the ship Hoche by the English, ii. 97—proposed to command an expedition against Ireland, 162—alluded to, 217

Buckingham, Marquess of, succeeded by the Earl of Westmorland, i. 9—intention of, to apply for the recall of his regiment from Ireland, 450—his opinion of the Militia in Ireland, ii. 13—to Lord Castlereagh, acceding to resolutions in favour of the Union, iii. 23—alluded to, 245

Bude, General, pension solicited for, i. 420

Bulkeley, Lord Viscount, to Secretary Dundas, with information relative to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the plans of the rebels, i. 204

Burgess, a rebel, ii. 103

Burke, Michael, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the sentiments of the Catholics towards the Union, ii. 275

———, Right Hon. Edmund, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on a political connection with Rome, ii. 363; iii. 471—letter from, to Dr. Hussey, on the Catholic question, 120

Burrowes, Colonel, ii. 309

————, Rev. Mr., ii. 232 *n.*—attacked and murdered by the rebels, 233, *n.*

Bushe, Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice), pamphlet of, on the Union, ii. 44, 45—subscription for defraying the expenses of his election, 428; iii. 211

Byrne, Luke, a condemned rebel, efforts made to save his life, i. 348, 409—alluded to, ii. 422, 423

Byron, Lord, his abuse of Lord Castlereagh, i. 140

Camden, Earl, appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy, i. 11—to the Hon. Robert Stewart, on the Lord-Lieutenancy, 159—to Lord Castlereagh, on his appointment as chief Secretary, 324, 375, 377, 391, 412, 424—on the confirmation of his appointment, 448—disapproves the instructions of ministers to Lord Cornwallis, *ib.*—to the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart (now Marquess of Londonderry), on the breaking of a regiment, ii. 89—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, 111, 137; iii. 242—on the conduct of certain of the Irish members, ii. 138—measures of, in Ireland, 191—alluded to, 358, 397; iii. 78—to Lord Castlereagh, on the representation of Ireland, 245—on the approval of Lord Castlereagh's exertions by Ministers, opposition of the Speaker to the Union, and the policy of Austria, 257—on the conduct of Lord Cornwallis, the treatment of rebels, and conduct of the Speaker, 271—to Mr. Cooke, on the disinclination of the King to ratify the arrangements of Lord Cornwallis, 333—to Lord Castlereagh on the engagements of Lord Cornwallis, Government of Ireland, and Treaty of Vienna, 359—on the disposition of Irish Church funds, 366—Lord Castlereagh to, on certain official arrangements, 387

Campanelli, Cardinal, appointed Protector of the English Catholics, iii. 82

Campbell, Mr. Charles, ii. 361

———, Colonel, to Major General Hewitt, on the capture of certain rebels, i. 185

Canning, Right Hon. G., duel of, with Lord Castlereagh, i. 16—appointment of, as minister at Lisbon, 119—his knowledge of Ireland, 345—opinion of, upon the Union as affecting the Catholics, iii. 119—alluded to, 310—character and position of, 350

Capefigue, M. de, his sketch of the life of Lord Castlereagh, i. 139

Cardinals, the Congregation of, their answer to the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates respecting the Pontifical Oath, iii. 126

Carew, Mr., iii. 229

Carhampton, Lord, ii. 6, 113, 128, 241—decides in favour of the Union, 346

Carleton, Lord, i. 347—sentiments of upon the Union, ii. 26—representative Peerage claimed by, iii. 358

Carnarvon, Earl of, iii. 291

Carysfort, Earl of, to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of the Irish Peerage under the Union, iii. 244—alluded to, 286—claims of, 345

Cashel, Archbishop of, ii. 89, 90—opposes the project for a Union of the English and Irish Churches, iii. 253, 254—proposition of, regarding Ecclesiastical compensation money, 361

Castlebar, General Humbert's success at, i. 332—meditated attack on, 333—defeat of General Lake at, 339

Castlereagh, Viscount, Memoir of, i. 1—some account of his ancestry, 2—his early education and intrepidity of character, 4—his stay at the University, 5—returned to Parliament for the County of Down, 7—marries Lady Emily Anne Hobart, 8—his political opinions, *ib.*—his first speech in Parliament, 9—succeeds to the title, and made Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Chief Secretary for Ireland, 12—made President of the Board of Control, 15—and Minister of the War Department, 16—his duel with Mr. Canning, *ib*—made Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 20—obtains the appointment of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the command in the Peninsula, 19, 20, 118—appointed Plenipotentiary to Holland, 21—and Ambassador to Paris, 22—represents Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna, 22—explanations respecting his proceedings there, 24, *et seq.*—signs the second Treaty of Paris, 62—becomes Marquess of Londonderry, 66—his illness, *ib.*—appointed to attend a Congress in Spain, 67—apprehensions of the King, respecting, *ib.*—his death, 68—his private and public character and conduct, 69, 105, 108, 130, *et seq.*—anecdotes of his private life, 72, *et seq.*—report as to the cause of his death, 83—defence of his character and abilities, by the Marquess of Londonderry, 89, *et seq.*—extracts from his speeches, 93—letters from the Marquess Wellesley, concerning the public services of, 98, 99—his foreign policy, 108—defence of his proceedings at Vienna, 112—conduct of, at the Congress of Chatillon, 113—his administration of Indian affairs, 113, *et seq.*—his support of Lord Wellesley, 116—conduct of, as Prime Minister, 117, *et seq.*—reception of, by the House of Commons, on his return from Vienna, 120, 127—opposition of, to Reform, 121—first mission of, to the Continent, 125—decision of, regarding the reinforcement of Blucher, 128—measures of, for the repression of the riots at Manchester and Birmingham, 140—to Sir R. Abercrombie, directing him to order the military to act, 164—on the extent of the powers confided to him, 168—on the security of Dublin, 178—to Lieut.-General Lake, on the discipline of the troops, 189—to Mr. Wickham: on the capture of Lord

Edward Fitzgerald, 208—on the state of Ireland, 211—shows the Rebellion to result from a Popish conspiracy, 219—to Lieut.-General Lake, on the defence of Dublin, 221—on the success at Vinegar Hill, 223—to Mr. Wickham: on the Bill of Pardon, 243—on the Secret Committee, and the State Prisoners, 246—on exceptions to the Bill of Pardon, 260—on the confession of a State Prisoner, 309—on the report of Secret Committee on the Irish conspiracy, 311—on the command in Ireland and Bill of Pardon, 320—notes of, respecting United Irishmen, 326—to the Lord-Lieutenant, concerning suspected persons, 327—to Mr. Pitt, on the confession of the State Prisoners, 336—to Mr. Wickham, concerning an action with the rebels, 340—probability of his appointment as Chief Secretary, 376, 377, 378—approval of his conduct by Ministers, 376, 377, 391, 405, 428—to Mr. Wickham: on the release of a State Prisoner, 396—on the disposal of the State Prisoners, 413—on the intelligence of the enemy, 415, 418—claims of, to an English Peerage, 420—to Mr. Wickham, relative to Major Sirr, 423—to Major-General Goldie, on the removal of rebels, 433—to the Duke of Portland, returning thanks for his appointment, 444—to Mr. Wickham: on the trial and attempted suicide of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and martial-law in Ireland, 445—on the recall of the Militia from Ireland, 450—on the death of T. W. Tone, and state of Ireland, ii. 7—to the Right Hon. Mr. Fitzgerald, on the Union, 10—to Mr. Wickham, on the threatened withdrawal of the Militia, 11—to the Right Hon. John Beresford, on the Union, 16—to the Right Hon. John Foster, on the same subject, 17—to Lord Glentworth, same subject, 18—testimony to the ability of, 23—draft of a despatch from, on the sentiments of influential persons, 24—to the Bishop of Ossory, on the Union, 31—to Lord Longueville, on the Union, *ib.*—to the Right Hon. Sir Lawrence Parsons, same subject—to Sir George F. Hill, with instructions, 33—to the Right Hon. George Ogle, on the Union, 34—to the Earl of Leitrim, on the measures of Ministers, 48—and to the Earl of Shannon, 61—to the Duke of Portland: on the Union, and the state of parties, 80, 83, 85, 126, 139, 142, 169, 240, 345, 355, 367—to the Right Honourable Colonel King, on the Union, 83—to Lord Longueville, on proceedings at Cork, in favour of the Union, 86—to the Right Hon. D. Latouche, soliciting his support of the Union, 114—attacks the Opposition, 130—speech of, in the Irish Parliament, 131—on the defeat of Government on the Address, 133—approval of conduct of by Ministers, 138—judicious conduct of, in Ireland, 155—to Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas, on the failure of Ministers, 160—speech of, on the Suppression of Rebellion Bill, 190—plan of, for compensation of hostile interests in Ireland, 203—on the Currency and Regency Bills, 240, 269—to Mr. Pitt: on the Irish Expenditure, 243—on the Irish Loan, 270, 314—state of Pariamentary business, the grant to Maynooth, and the Bill of Indemnity, 279—to the Lord Primate of Ireland, on the project of a new Irish University, 349—alluded to, 401, 418, *et seq.*—to Lord De Clifford, on the Union, 432—to Sir J.C. Hippisley, on the Roman Catholic Clergy, iii. 19—delivers a Message, recommending the Union, to the Irish Parliament, 211—reply of, to Mr. Saurin, on the Union, 215—moves for leave to bring in a Bill of Union, 219—to the Right Hon. John Foster, respecting an invitation to the Castle of Dublin, 226—anonymous letter to, 230—on the proposed Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of Lord Downshire, 239—to the Right Hon. G. Rose, on opposition to the Cotton duties, 251—satisfaction of Cabinet with conduct of, 261, 272—to Mr. Cooke, on the Woollen duties, 274—to the Right Hon. George Rose, on the Protecting and Countervailing duties, 296, 303—to Mr. King, on Borough representation, Hearth and Window Tax, 305—eminent services of, 326—to Lord Camden, on the refusal of the King to ratify the engagements to supporters of the Union, 326—to Mr. Cooke, same subject, 330, 336—scruples of Government respecting pledges of, to supporters of the Union, 333, 334, 335—to Lord Camden, on the engagements to supporters of the Union, 339—the King's opinion of services of, 345—strong commendation of conduct and talents of, by the Duke of Portland, 347—views of Ministers respecting, 350—to Lord Camden, on the arrangement regarding the Londonderry Peerage, *ib.*—to the Duke of Portland, on the same subject, 357—on arrangements respecting Irish offices of State, 387—to the Rev. Dr. Black, on a provision for Irish dissenting ministers, 394—to Mr. Cooke, on compensations to Irish Law officers, patronage, and treatment of Insurgent prisoners, 416—summary of correspondence of Sir J. C. Hippisley with, concerning the

Irish Roman Catholic Clergy, 445, *et seq.*—to Mr. Pitt, on the state of the Catholic question, and encouragement held out to Catholics, iv. 8—memorandum of considerations for the Catholics by, 34—to Lord Cornwallis, on the position of his Lordship with respect to the Catholics, and the intentions of Mr. Pitt, 38—to Mr. Cooke, on the scarcity in Ireland, and plans of relief, 67—to Mr. Addington, on the Catholic claims, State provision for the Catholic and Presbyterian Clergy, and temper of the Irish people, 223—to the Right Hon. William Wickham, on the Corn Laws, and scarcity in Ireland, 230—on the establishment of an Irish Militia, 233, 242, 246—memorandum of, on certain regulations concerning Catholics, proposed by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Canning, 248

Catholics, the Irish, unite with the Presbyterians to obtain reform, i. 356—maltreatment of, 356, 365—proposed regulations respecting, 379—claims of, 404; ii. 29, 30, 35—meeting of, 46—sentiments of, upon the Union, 49, 78, 275—attempted conciliation of, 77—opposition of, to the Union, 84, 155—proposed compromise with, 132—position of, 140—discouragement of, 147—question of Emancipation of, *ib.*, 172, 173—policy pursued towards, 171—allegation of Joseph Holt respecting plans of, 186—address from, to Lord Camden, 230—hopes held out to, respecting Emancipation, 275, *et seq.*—how involved in the Rebellion, 326—disposition of, towards the Union, 328, 400, 437—information concerning an intended rising of, 395, 416, 418—statistics of, 408, *et seq.*—confession of a rebel, implicating them, 418 — Memorial of, praying for the foundation of a Seminary for the education of their Clergy, iii. 72—alleged exertions of in suppressing the Rebellion, 78—implication of, in the Rebellion, 104—question of concessions to, *ib.*—extract from Memorial of the Propaganda, relating to, 109—opinion of Mr. Canning on revival of penal laws against, 119—sentiments of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke respecting, 121—question of allegiance of, 126—loyalty of, in Canada, 132—duties of, to temporal powers, 134, 135—suggestion of an oath or test for, 136—disabilities of, 139—statutes passed in the reign of George III. for the relief of, 158—opposition of, to the Union, 229—Poyning's Act and other laws affecting, 380, 382—claims of, on Lord Cornwallis, 418—propose to petition Parliament, 420—laws affecting, 445, *et seq.*—Blackstone's opinion of laws against, 480—encouragements held out to by the Irish Government, iv. 8, 13—Earl of Clare's opinions respecting, 17, 47—proposed petition of, 21—probability of emancipation of, 24, 29, *et seq.*—speeches of Mr. Pitt and Lord Minto in favour of, 32—considerations for, on Mr. Pitt's retirement, by Lord Castlereagh, 34 — propriety and probable results of granting concessions to, 43—anticipated outbreak of, 49—veto of the King on measure for the emancipation of, 53, *et seq.*—alleged pledge of Lord Cornwallis to, 61—memorandum on certain regulations concerning, by Lord Castlereagh, 248—correspondence between Lord Fingall and Lord Redesdale, concerning conduct, faith, and allegiance of, 302 to 311—correspondence between Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Plowden on the alleged pledge to the, 372, 374—correspondence between the King and Ministers on removing the disabilities of, 374 to 390—secret memorandum on the expediency of making further concessions to, 392—arguments against concessions to, 400—papers on the state of in England under George I., 435, *et seq.*—conduct of, regarding the King and the Pretender, 437—proposal for enacting more stringent laws against, 439—memorial of Dr. Strickland on their conduct and allegiance, 463

Caulfeild, Lord, opposes the Union, ii. 84, 123

Caulfield, Rev. Dr. (Roman Catholic), on the confession of a rebel, implicating the Catholics, ii. 418, 419—alluded to, 426

Cerri, Monsignor, Secretary to the Propaganda, memorial of, on the conduct of regular Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, iii. 456, *et seq.*

Chambers, Mr., a rebel agent in London, ii. 4

Charlemont, Lord, ii. 123

Chatham, Lord, iii. 360

Chatillon, Congress of, i. 113

Chesterfield, Lord, to Lord Castlereagh, with extract from the Commons' Journal, on the Coronation Oath, iv. 82

Chevalier de St. George, the (See St. George)

Chisholm, Rev. John, ii. 333

Church, the Protestant, in Ireland, iii. 288—funds available to, 360, *et seq.*, 367

Church lands and Bishops' leases in Ireland, ii. 70

Churches of England and Ireland, proposed union of, iii. 2, 253, 293, 294, 295

Clanricarde, Earl of, to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, ii. 108—alluded to, 403

Clare, Earl of, (Lord Chancellor of Ireland) on the confession of the State prisoners, i. 349—attends at an interview with State prisoners, 350—to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of Ireland, and the Union, 393—his averseness to Catholic Emancipation, *ib.*—argument of, against the Catholics, 404—alluded to, ii. 86 128, 132, 177, 178, 317, 403—to the Lord-Lieutenant, concerning the College at Maynooth, 277—appointed one of the provisional Lords Justices of Ireland, 308—delivers message in favour of the Union to the Irish House of Lords, iii. 215—proceedings of, on the disregard of a writ of Habeas Corpus, 396, *et seq.*—speech of, on the state of Ireland, iv, 5—opinions of, on the Catholic question, 17, 26, 61

Clarke, Mr. E., to Lord Donoughmore, on the Irish cotton trade, iii. 483

Clergy, the Dissenting, in Ireland, ii. 156—grant of money to, iii. 289, 388, 389, *et seq.* (See also Presbyterians)

———, the Irish Protestant, representations of, ii. 56

———, the Irish Roman Catholic, education of, iii. 79, 143, 311—question of a State provision for, 80, *et seq.* 117, 141, *et seq.*, 400, *et seq.* 462—project of endowment of approved by the Pope, 87—proposed regulation of, 88, *et seq.*—circular letter of the Propaganda to, on the part taken by the Catholics in the Rebellion, 95, 97—influence of, and implication of, in the Rebellion, 104—mode of nominating them to appointments, 107—distinction between secular and regular, 108, 155—reception of address of, by the King, 111—regulations proposed for, by Sir J. C. Hippisley, *ib.* — oath of allegiance to the Pope taken by, 126—answer of the College of Cardinals to, concerning the Pontifical Oath of, 127—form of oath taken by, 134—on the expediency of regulation of, and a provision for, 141, *et seq.*, 144, 400—proposal for conducting correspondence of, with Rome, 408—amounts of stipends proposed for, 405—money remitted by annually to Rome, 409—queries respecting the regulation and discipline of, 437, 440—provincials of, 438—answers to queries concerning, by Dr. Troy, *ib.*—return to the queries proposed to, on the state of their Church, 441—summary of a correspondence relating to, between Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hobart, and Sir J. C. Hippisley, 445, *et seq.*—opinion of Adam Smith on a State provision for, 462—returns of, on the constitution and discipline of their Church, iv. 97—Lord Castlereagh on a State provision for, 223—on the adjustment of relations of with Government, 419—Bill for making a complete and independent provision for, 425

Clogher, Bishop of, iii. 261, 366

Clonfert, Bishop of, to Lord Castlereagh, on the opposition of Trinity College to the Union, iii. 229

Cloyne, Bishop of, iv. 61

Clubs, the Irish, proposal for suppressing, iii. 365

Colclough, John Henry, a rebel, i. 225—arrest of, 335

———, Mr., iii. 335, 336, 343

Cole, Lieutenant-Colonel, ii. 320, 322

——, Mr., a rebel, i. 326

Concannen, Father, opposes national superiors of the Irish College at Rome, ii. 188—to Rev. Dr. Fallon, resigning an Irish Bishopric, iii. 13—alluded to, 88, 107, 108

Confession and absolution, abuses of, in Ireland, iii. 157, 409, 412

Conolly, Right Hon. J., approves the Union, ii. 26—to Lord Castlereagh, in favour of the Union, 109—on the coalition of United Irish and Orangemen, 169—on the Catholic claims and the position of Mr. Pitt, iii. 48

Consalvi, Cardinal, iii. 384; iv. 22

Conyngham, Lord, ii. 117, 344, 403; iv. 13, 14

Cooke, Edward, Esq., (afterwards Under Secretary of State) his pamphlet in favour of the Union, i. 154—notice of, 314, *n.* — to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, 343—on the affairs of Ireland, 429—on the character of Lord Cornwallis, the Union, the trial of T. W. Tone, the surrender of Holt, and the enemy's fleet, 431—on the opposition to the Union, ii. 40, 43—his arguments for and against a Union, 45—to Lord Castlereagh, with resolutions of citizens of Dublin against the Union, 47—on a meeting of the Catholics, 49—on disturbances in Ireland, *ib.*—on the state of Ireland, and on the withdrawal of the militia, 403—notes of, in favour of a Union, iii. 54—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish loan, woollen duties, the primacy, civil list, reinforcements, and opposition, 260—to Lord Cornwallis, on the progress of the Union Act, and desire of France for peace, 284—to Lord Castlereagh, on debates on the Union, 286—on same subject, reinforcements for Ireland and foreign affairs, 291—or the debates and rumoured defeat of Massena, 299—on Countervailing duties, compensations, and reinforcements, 300, 322—on proposed new creations of Peers in Ireland, surrender of Massena, and the Londonderry Peerage, 329—on the consent of the King to ratify the engagements to supporters of the Union, 335— on foreign relations, and state of the West Indies, 341—on the successes of Bonaparte, state of France, and views of the Cabinet regarding Lord Castlereagh, 349—on Lord Cornwallis, the Earl of Clare, and evasion of a writ of Habeas Corpus, 397—on the Irish War-office, intentions of the Catholics, &c., 420—on the continuance of Irish Privy Council, compensations, and survey of Dublin Harbour, 423—to Dr.Troy, with queries respecting the Irish Roman Catholic Church, iv. 37—to Lord Castlereagh, on completion of the Union, cotton trade, and distilling, iv. 14—on compensations, and provision for Roman Catholic Clergy, *ib.*—on the export of wheat from Ireland, and famine, from the failure of potatoes, 15—on official arrangements, 16—on the Catholic question, test laws, and on offices vacant, 17—on the Catholic question, 18—on the Martial-Law Bill—on the exchange on London and disaffection, 23—on the Tithe Bill, and removal of Mr. Pitt, 25—on the tranquillity of Ireland and position of Mr. Pitt, 26—on concessions to sectaries, and foreign politics, 27—on the Addington administration, and certainty of emancipation, 28—reasons of, for retiring, *ib.*—to the Earl of Clare, relative to Lord Castlereagh on the Catholic claims, and probable results of granting them, and the Church in Ireland, 41—to Lord Castlereagh, on the sentiments of the Earl of Clare upon the Catholic question, 47—on public opinion on the Catholic question, 50—on the conduct of Mr. Pitt towards the Catholics, 52—on the line of action proper for Mr. Pitt, 60—on the alleged pledge of Lord Cornwallis to the Catholics—on the repeal of the Test Act, 62—on the appointment of Lord Hardwicke as Lord-Lieutenant, Catholic question, and the Windsor *Camarilla*, 63—on Lord Cornwallis's engagements to the Catholics, and publications on the question, 70—his memorandum of the interview between Lord Cornwallis, Lord Fingall, and Dr. Troy, concerning the Catholic claims, 71—on the injudicious conduct of Mr. Addington, 77—on Irish distress, and proposed measures of relief, 78—on the passing of a Martial-Law Bill, and postponement of Catholic claims, and the recovery of the King, 79—on the sentiments of the King towards the Catholics, with his Majesty's opinion of the new Ministry, Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Portland, and the Bishop of Meath, 81—on the decision of the King upon emancipation, and on the state arrangements, 82—on the debate on the Martial-Law Bill, on the Laws relating to religion, and on the Addington Cabinet, 90—on the conduct of the Irish Members, and effect of Mr. Addington's speeches, 93—on the alarm of invasion, and state of Ireland, 94—on official arrangements, French Concordat, and threatened invasion of Ireland, 96

Coote, Mr., ii. 127

——, General, i. 331

Cope, Colonel, iii. 18

——, Mr., i. 347

Coppinger, Rev. Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, Memorial of, respecting resistance to Tithes, ii. 387

Corbet, Mr., a rebel, i. 399, 407, 409; ii. 103

Cork, proposed capture of, by the French, i. 295, 301

Cormick, John, a captured rebel, i. 238, *et seq.*—declaration of, concerning the Rebellion, 240

Cornwallis, Marquess, appointed Lord Lieutenant, i. 13, 149—proclaims pardon to rebels who should surrender, 149—defeats General Humbert, at Ballynamuck, 151—to the Duke of Portland, respecting Secret State Papers, 227—his sentiments regarding the appointment of Chief Secretary, 325—opinion of, respecting an offer of the State Prisoners, 348, 349, 351—his appointment as Lord-Lieutenant, 375—recommends Major Sirr to Government, 423—disapproves and censures the finding of a Court-martial, 424—position of, 426—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, with extract of a Letter from the Duke of Portland on the appointment of Chief Secretary, 428—character of, 431—refuses terms to Holt, a rebel, 433—to the Duke of Portland, on the Union, ii., 35—more active measures against rebels, proposed to be taken by, 46—qualities of, as Lord-Lieutenant, 53—authorized to enter into arrangements for the accomplishment of the Union, 60—to the Duke of Portland, on the state of feeling in Ireland, 78—on the difficulties in the way of the Union, 90—recommends the breaking of a regiment, 105, 106, 112—to the Earl of Ely, urging him to support the Union, 106—indignant message to, from Sir John Blackwood, 113—to the Duke of Portland, on the reception of the proposal for a Union by the Irish Parliament, 130—instructions to, respecting the Union, 134—assured of the support of Ministers, 136—to the Duke of Portland, on disaffection in Ireland, and Bill for more speedy suppression of Rebellion, 174, 189 — on the Regency Bill, 180 — opinion of, on Irish Finance, 270 — to the Earl of Clare, on charges against the College of Maynooth, 278—to the Duke of Portland, on the Speech to the Irish Parliament and on the Union, 298—distribution of the forces under the command of, 299—regulations for government of Ireland in case of decease of, 307—on the removal of opponents to the Union from Office, and sentiments of individuals and the public on the Union, 336—intended tour of, 351—on the proposed new College at Armagh, 364—result of tour of, in the South of Ireland, 372—on the reduction and withdrawal of the Militia, 402—to Lord Castlereagh, on same subject, 405—reception of, in the North of Ireland, 414, 430, 431 — disapproves of introducing Russian troops into Ireland, 430, 432—to Lord Castlereagh, on the probability of a rising in Ireland, 434—address of, on the final prorogation of the Irish Parliament, iii. 220—offers of, to Lord de Clifford, 224 — Ministerial approval of the conduct of, 261—conduct of, towards Lord Camden, 272—Ministerial disapproval of Irish policy of, *ib.*—scruples of Government respecting his engagements to supporters of the Union, 322, 326, 330, 333, 334, 335—to the Duke of Portland, on the necessity for his Lordship's immediate retirement, 324—ratification of engagements of, by Government, 335, 336, 339—his services acknowledged and arrangements confirmed, 343—Duke of Portland's conduct to, 351, 359—to the Duke of Portland, on arrangements with supporters of the Union, and the Londonderry Peerage, 358—on the State of Ireland, and scarcity, 366 — to Lord Castlereagh, on the want of reinforcements, 373—to the Duke of Portland, on the civil and military state of Ireland, and probability of a new invasion, 374 — tour of, in the West of Ireland, 378—solicited to retain the Government of Ireland, 387—conduct of, towards the Earl of Clare and the Court of King's Bench, 396, *et seq.*—to Lord Castlereagh, on the arrangements with the Catholics, and state of Ireland, 419—sentiments of, regarding the Lord-Lieutenancy and the Catholic claims, iv. 8—to Lord Castlereagh, on the rejoicings on the completion of the Union, Catholic question, and state of Ireland, 13—on nominations to office, and compensations, 20—on the Catholic petition, 21—on the renewal of Martial law Bill, 22—on Emancipation, and restoration of tranquillity, 24—approves Mr. Pitt's resignation, 48—on an anticipated outbreak of the Catholics, and the necessity for his immediate retirement, 49—announces his resignation of the Lord-Lieutenancy, 50—on threatened demonstrations of the Catholics, 61 — his explanation respecting the papers delivered to the Catholics, 76—on difficulties arising out of the Catholic question, and the Bombardment of Copenhagen, *ib.*—on the Martial-Law Bill, and moderation of the Catholics, 80—to Lord Hardwicke (his successor in the Lord-Lieutenancy), on the appointment of a Commander of the Forces, and military patronage, 83—to Mr. Plowden, denying the having given a pledge to the Catholics, 373

Corry, Right Hon. Isaac, to Lord Castlereagh, relative to the proceedings of the Irish Bar, ii. 37—made Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, 92—elected M.P. for Newry, 168—alluded to, 127, 215, 243, 315, 340; iii. 293—his duel with Mr. Grattan, 214, 243

Corsica, Viceroy of, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, acknowledging his public services, iii. 476

Cottenham, Lord, i. 142

Cotton Duties, the, regulation of, iii. 248, *et seq.*, 283

Cotton, the manufacture of, in Ireland, iii. 204, 205 — proposed compensation to manufacturers of, 207 — correspondence respecting, 482, *et seq.*

Countervailing duties, the regulation of, iii. 263, 264, 265, 270, 277, 279, 280, 293, 296, 301, 306, 308

Courand, Admiral, ii. 269

Courts-Martial in Ireland, i. 445, *et seq.*

Coutts, Mr., ii. 324—notes of, in reference to the exemption of Lords St. Vincent and Duncan from the absentee Tax, 334—to Right Hon. George Rose, on same subject, 335

Cowper, Colonel, ii. 421

Craggs, Mr. Secretary, to Lord Stanhope, on the arrest of Bishop Gifford and the Earl of Shrewsbury, iv. 473—to the Duke of Norfolk, threatening him with arrest, 475

Craig, Sir James, censured by Lord Cornwallis, i. 424

Craufurd, Mr., his pamphlet on the Union, ii. 39

———, Sir James, i. 263—to Lord

Grenville, with description of certain suspected persons, 317—on intelligence of the enemy's fleet, 340—on a Dutch fleet destined to Ireland, 374—on the proceedings of an Irish Emissary at Hamburg, 417—arrests Napper Tandy and others at Hamburg, ii. 99 *n.*—secret information furnished by, 102 — prisoners taken by at Hamburg, 103
Creevy, "General," i. 308
Croker, Right Hon. John Wilson, his estimate of the character of Lord Castlereagh, i. 108
Curran, Mr., i. 344, 432, 445
Currency Bill, the Irish, ii. 218, 221—notes respecting, 293
Cuyler, Lieutenant-General, ii. 350

Dacres, Captain, to Vice-Admiral Dickson, with news of the Dutch fleet, 176
Dahlmann, M., ii. 257, 263
Dalrymple, Sir Hew, i. 229 — to Mr. Wickham, on the confession of a captured rebel, 238
Daly, Mr. St. George, i. 343—advocates the Union, ii. 38, 39—system said to have been proposed by, 76
Daniel, Thomas, Esq., i. 214
Darnley, Lord, ii. 435; iii. 262, 278, 291
D'Auvergne, Captain, Prince of Bouillon, secret intelligence from France and Holland obtained by, i. 249, 373, 381; ii. 104, 162, *et seq.*, 206, 217, 266, 297, 376
Davenport, Mr., iii. 230
Dawson, Mr. James, M.P., an agent of Government, ii. 192 — to Mr. Robert Marshall, with an account of his proceedings, 374
De Clifford, Lord, alluded to, ii. 319, 346—to Mr. Townshend, on the Union and its consequences, 355—outline of arrangements under the Union thrown out for consideration of, by Lord Cornwallis, 432—to Lord Castlereagh, announcing his determination to oppose the Union, iii. 223
"Defenderism," ii. 326
"Defenders," the, origin of, i. 147—proceedings of, 357, 358; iii. 127—prosecution of, i. 365
Delany, Dr., ii. 188
Delmotte, Admiral, ii. 269
Denham, Rev. Mr., iii. 166
Derby, Lord, iii. 287
Despard, Colonel, i. 326—conspiracy of, ii. 3—trial and execution of, 4—alluded to, 7
Dickson, Vice-Admiral, to Mr. Nepean, on the movements of the Texel fleet, ii. 311
Dillon, Lord, letter of, on the Catholic claims, iv. 32
———, Rev. Dr., Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, address to the laity of his diocese, i. 172—to the Rev. Dr. Troy, respecting the resolutions in favour of the Union, ii. 347, 386
Dillon, Mr. Thomas, ii. 348
Directory, the French, aids the Irish insurgents, i. 217—attempts of, to revive the Rebellion in Ireland, 264—capture of a spy of, 269 —appoints a confidential person to treat with the Irish, 271—countenances the application of the rebels to the Court of Spain, 272—refuses to send less than 20,000 men to Ireland, *ib.*—supplies rebel officers with money, 306—proposes a new invasion of Ireland, 368—promises of, to the Irish, 370—decree of, respecting the invasion of Ireland, 372
D'Israeli, B., Esq. to the Marquess of Londonderry, on his vindication of Lord Castlereagh, i. 132
Dissenters, the Irish, rights and privileges of, iii. 287 — sentiments of, towards Government, 304 (See also Presbyterians)
Dobbs, Mr., i. 347, 318; ii. 190
Donegal, Lord, ii. 241, 331
Donellan, Mr., ii. 46
Donoughmore, Lord, ii. 240 — to Lord Castlereagh on the Irish Cotton Trade, iii. 483—alluded to, iv. 21
Douglas, Hon. Sylvester, (afterwards Lord Glenbervie) to Lord Castlereagh, with papers relative to the Union, ii. 125, 128
———, Dr., iii. 88
Dowling, Rev. H., to Lord Castlereagh, on the conduct of the Catholics of Dublin, and the sentiments of the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy on the Union, iii. 226
Down, Bishop of, ii. 415
Downshire, Marquess of, i. 233—rumour as to his sentiments concerning the Union, ii 90, 111, 116, 143—alluded to, 241, 319, 355, 367—to Lord Castlereagh, on King's plates, pardon of a rebel, and sale of gold coin in Ireland, 329, *et seq.*——opposition of, 346—committal of, to opposition to the Union, 368—Duke of Portland's hopes respecting, 396—alleged declaration of, in favour of the Union, *ib.*—interview of, with Mr. Pitt, iii. 11—efforts of, in opposition to the Union, 215—attempt of to instigate the Militia to oppose the Union, 230, *et seq.*—proposed Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of, 236, 240—removal of, from all his employments and offices under the Crown, *ib.* 241
Doyle, Captain, an agent of the Rebels, ii. 15, 16—capture of, with his ship and crew, 103

Doyle, Mr., a rebel, i. 331—proceeding of, ii. 193, 237—treasonable proposals of, 238—letter from, to United Irish, in defence of his character, *ib.*

Drennan, Dr., ii. 47

Drogheda, Marquess of, claims of, to advancement, iii. 345, 359

Drummond, General, iii. 381

Dublin, proclaimed in a state of insurrection, i. 148—plans for the defence of, 170, 180, 190, 192—opposed to the project of a Union, ii. 27, 41—corporation of, passes resolutions against a Union, 46—proposes to address the King, *ib.*—illuminated on the defeat of Government, 74—clamour in, against the Union, 79—extreme excitement in, 81—intended attack upon, 95—proposes concessions in connection with the Union, 205—arms secreted in, 225—information of an intended rising in, 395—petition from, regarding a recognition of its interests, 407—resolution of Common Council of, against the Union, 431—intemperate conduct of Catholics of, iii. 226—survey of Harbour of, 372, 424

Duckett, Mr., a rebel agent at Paris, i. 235, 290—to the French Ex-Minister of Marine, on the invasion of Ireland, 292, 294—obtains money to excite a mutiny in the English fleet, 308—arrested, 326—proposes to fire the English dockyards, 417—proceedings of, at Hamburg, *ib.*—alluded to, ii. 6

Duckworth, Admiral, captures by, iii. 296

Duff, Sir James, iv. 13.

Duigenan, Dr., to Lord Castlereagh, on the strong opposition to the Union, ii. 52—alluded to, 81, 191; iii. 22, 23—misrepresentations of, regarding the Catholics, 470—violence of, iv. 27

Dunboyne, Lord, Legacy of, to Maynooth College, iii. 403

Duncan, Lord, pension granted to, ii. 334—attempt to subject to the Irish absentee tax, *ib. et seq.*

Dundas, Mr. Secretary, i. 431; ii. 215; iii. 81—approves the proposition for endowing the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy, 87—Views of, regarding the Union, iii. 286—alluded to, 310—character of, 350

———, Lieutenant-General R., i. 187, 222

Dutch fleet, the, surrender of, ii. 393

Dwyer, Mr., change of sentence of, iii. 371

East India Company, the, resistance of, to the Board of Control, i. 115

Egan, Dr., Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, iii. 85

Elliot, Rev. Mr., ii. 379

———, Mr., an agent of the disaffected, iii. 343

Elliot, Mr., (Under Secretary to Lord Cornwallis) i. 265—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, 403—on his appointment as Chief Secretary, 412—claims and services of, 421—to Lord Castlereagh, on his confirmation as Chief Secretary, *ib.*—on the position of Lord Cornwallis, and the Union, 426—on the movements of the French, the Union, and expenses of the Navy, 430—on the Union, ii. 9—on the treatment of prisoners of state, 27—on the Union, and retirement of Mr. Cooke from office, 29—alluded to, 84, 145, 154, 159, 198—to Lord Castlereagh, on the estimation in which his Lordship was held, 161—on the Union, 396—on the state of Ireland, 428—on the war in Holland, 429—on the opposition of Dublin to the Union, on the tour of Lord Cornwallis, 431—on the state of Ireland, 438—on the recall of troops from Portugal, and contempt of the Court of King's Bench, 396

Elphin, Bishop of, iii. 378

Elrington, Dr., dispensation granted to, ii. 177; iii. 230

Ely, Lord, sentiments of, upon the Union, ii. 25, 62, 88, 90, 111, 116—support of, urgently requested by Ministers, 106—conduct of, in Parliament, 143—declares for the Union, 241—alluded to, iii. 20, 369—assurances given to, by Lord Cornwallis, 345

Emancipation, Catholic, considered certain to secure the tranquillity of Ireland, iv. 29

Emmet, Thomas Addis, a rebel, apprehended, i. 148, 248—confession of, 351, 372—treatment of, in prison, 352, 353

Emmett, Robert, accounts of the insurrection raised by, in Dublin, 316, 324, 336

England, meditated invasion of, i. 410, 411

———, General, i. 331

Enniskillen, Earl of, iii. 378

Error, General Court of, proposed formation of, iii. 317

Erskine, Monsignore, iii. 87, 88

———, Adjutant-General Sir James St. Clair, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on the distinction granted by the Pope to the 12th Dragoons, iii. 475

Este, Mr., ii. 7

Eustace, General, ii. 421

Excise duties, the, in Ireland, iii. 282

Excommunication in Ireland, iii. 410—proposed restriction of, 411

"Executive Committee," the Irish, proceedings of, i. 273, 275, 278, 283—formation of, 360—appoints a military committee, 363—directs the disuse of spirits, excisable articles, and Bank Notes, 364—plan of operations of, 364—sends an agent to the French Directory, 366—intentions of, 367—negociations of, with France, 368, 369—re-formation of, 194

Explosion, the, in Patrick Street, Dublin, iv. 313

Exshaw, Alderman, ii. 431

Fagan, Mr., agent for the Irish Catholics at Rome, iii. 13

Fallon, Rev. Mr., ii. 422; iii. 80, 88, 107

Farrell, Mr., apprehension of, ii. 47

Fingall, Lord, ii. 35, 46, 78, 148; iii. 78; iv. 21, 49—appointed Justice of the Peace, 298—correspondence of, with Lord Redesdale, concerning the doctrines and conduct of the Catholics, 298 to 311

Fishguard, attempted landing of the French at, i. 342

Fitzgerald, Hon. Robert Stephen, to Lord Grenville, on the representation of Leinster, iii. 356

———, Colonel, ii. 85, 127

———, Lord C., iii. 417

———, Lord Edward, escape of, i. 148—proceedings against, 203—plot revealed to a person mistaken for, 205—capture of, 208—alluded to, 240, 241, 242, 259, 270, 271—communications of, with a French spy, 282, 286, 288—opinions of, 278, 283—his journey to Switzerland, 309—arranges the invasion of Ireland, 310—case against, 312—attainder of, 322, 462—arrest and death of, 457—Sir Richard Musgrave, Maxwell, and Moore's accounts of, 459—atrocious conduct of, 461—panegyrics upon, *ib.*—strictures on Moore's life of, 466—betrayal of, 468—alluded to, ii. 254, 255, 262, *et seq.*—to M. Jägerhorn, (a French spy) on his visit to London, 254, 261

———, Lady, i 273; ii. 94—aids the United Irish abroad, 96, 97, 98

———, Hon. James, prime serjeant, opposes the Union, ii. 127—presents the Regency Bill, 180—alluded to, 193, 317; iii. 210.

———, Rev. Dr., iii. 230

———, Mr. Thomas J., proceedings of, towards suspected rebels, ii. 280—verdict against, *ib.*

———, M., ii. 324

Fitzwilliam, Earl, made Lord-Lieutenant, i. 10—recall of, 356, 365—alluded to, iii. 125, 291, 299

Fletcher, Mr., i. 344

Forde, Mr., ii. 368

Foster, Right Hon. John, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, objects to the Union, i. 427, 428, 449—opposes the Union, ii. 74—alluded to, 84, 90, 101, 126, 127, 131, 271, 273, 400—his partial conduct, 138—Vote of thanks to, 170, 207—influence and address of, 171—opposes Insurrection Act Amendment Bill, 190—declaration of, respecting the Irish linen trade, 247—conduct of, towards the Catholics, 275, *et seq.*—proposed negociation with, 397—revolutionary speech of, iii. 166—on a commercial arrangement between England and Ireland, 180—arguments of, against the Union, 213—to Lord Castlereagh, declining an invitation to the Castle, 225—Lord Camden's opinion of his conduct, 258—alluded to, 261, 262, 276—Compensation to, 301

Foster, Colonel, ii. 127—proposed dismissal of, 131, 318—supports Government, 192—alluded to, iii. 274

Fox, Luke, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union as affecting religious sects in Ireland, ii. 408; iii. 21

———, Right Hon. Mr., i. 158—erasure of his name from the list of Privy Councillors, 382

France, treatment of Irish prisoners in, i. 299, 304, 309, 355, 453, 455—intentions of, towards England, 442—desire for peace in, iii. 285—hostile preparations in (See Secret Information)

Frawley, Mr., a rebel, case of, iii. 396, 397, *et seq.*

Freeling, Mr., ii. 312

French fleet, the appearance of, on the coast of Ireland, i. 151—capture of, *ib.*—under Buonaparte, sunk and taken, 452—desertions from, *ib.*—terror of the British navy in, 453

——— officers, atrocious conduct of, i. 399—impressions of, respecting the conquest of Ireland, ii. 93

——— troops, the, landing of in Ireland, i. 323, 326—operations of, 339

———, Mr. F., to Mr. Marshall, on the mis-statements of the Right Hon. John Foster, iii. 487

———, Sir Thomas, iii. 420

Frewin, Mr., ii. 378, 379; iii. 265, 278.

Furnes, Mr. (See Turner)

Galway, County of, alleged disposition of the inhabitants of, towards the French, i. 297, 303

Geoghegan, Mr., i. 289, 290

George I., King, papers relating to the state of the Catholics in England under, iv. 435, *et seq.*

George III., King, to Lord Castlereagh, i. 18—approves the appointment of Lord Castlereagh, 444—Despard's plot for the assassination of, ii. 3—Message from to Parliament, upon the Union, 72—new project for assassinating, 194—notion of Irish Catholics respecting the death of, 276—grants a provision to the Cardinal of York, 332, *n.*—Interview of, with Lord Downshire, 396—statutes passed during the reign of, for the relief of Roman Catholics in Ireland, iii. 158—reply of, to the Address in favour of the Union, 218—Address of to Parliament, on the completion of the Union, 220—objections of, to the engagements to supporters of the Union, 322 to 334, 335, 344—opinion of, concerning the conduct and talents of Lord Castlereagh, 345, 348—decision of upon the Catholic question, iv. 53, *et seq.*—correspondence of, with Ministers, on the removal of Catholic disabilities, 374 to 390—final refusal of concession by, 389

George IV., King, refuses to receive the letters of Napoleon, i. 61—regrets the illness of Lord Castlereagh, 67

Gifford, Bishop, proposed arrest of, iv. 474

Glandore, Lord, ii. 127—to Lord Auckland, on the Representative Peers of Ireland, iii. 266

Glenbervie, Lord, speech of, in favour of the Catholics, iv. 53

Glentworth, Lord, afterwards Earl of Limerick, i. 344; ii. 349

Gordon, James, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the Romanist opposition to the Union, iii. 229

———, Rev. James, his "History of Ireland," i. 153, 154

Gore, Captain, to Mr. Nepean, with intelligence of the Brest fleet, ii. 179

Goring, Sir William, to Lord Waldegrave, relative to the English Catholics, iv. 447

Gosford, Lord, iii. 18

Grady, Mr. J. D., advocates the Union, i, 343, 344—to Lord Glentworth, on his losses from supporting Government, ii. 120

Graham, Sir James, to the Marquess of Londonderry, on the services of Lord Castlereagh, i. 133

Grattan, Mr., called to the Privy Council, i. 11—his name erased from the list of Privy Councillors, 382—system advocated by, ii. 75, 76—alluded to, 276; iii. 125—his illness, ii, 379, 380; iii. 210, 213—duel of, with Mr. Corry, 214—regulations concerning Catholics proposed by, iv. 248

Great Britain and Ireland, general principles of a Union between, iii. 41, *et seq.*—Parliamentary resolutions on the Union of, 69—Commerce and consumption of, in 1799, 195—value of trade of with Ireland, 197

Greig, Mr. J., to E. Nepean, Esq., on the capture and re-capture of a British vessel, i. 400

Grenager, Mr. L., information of, i. 422

Grenville, Lord, to Lord Camden, on the Bill of Pains and Penalties, i. 162—to ———, respecting the rebels, 200—to Lord Castlereagh, on the controverted elections under the Union, iii. 237, 283—on the representation of Leinster, 355—on the Catholic question, and state provision for Roman Catholic Clergy, iv. 89—correspondence of, with the King, on the removal of Catholic disabilities, 379 to 390

———, Hon. Thomas, proposed as Chief Secretary, i. 325, 326—alluded to, 377—anxiety respecting safety of, ii. 183, 184—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, acknowledging his public services, iii. 99

Grey, Hon. Mr., opinion of, upon the Union, ii. 216, *n.*—opposition of, to the Union, 286—proposes to restrain the influence of the Crown over the Irish Members, 287, 299

Grogan, Mr., i. 225

Groom, Mr., i. 142

Guards, the, conduct of, in Ireland, 341, 342

Habeas Corpus Act, the, suspension of, i. 202—evasion of writ under, iii. 396, *et seq.*

Hackett, Mr., a rebel leader, i. 150

Hales, Dr., opinions of, respecting Irish affairs, ii. 313—offers to write in favour of the Union, 314

Hall, Captain Trevor, to ———, on the attempt of the French to corrupt the Irish prisoners, 251

——, Dr., iii. 230

Halliday, Dr., ii. 415

Hamburg, Senate of, orders the arrest of Irish rebels there, ii. 99, 100—secret information from, 223

Hamilton, Mr. A., to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish cotton manufacture, iii. 482

———, Captain Sir Charles, to Mr. Nepean, with news of the Brest fleet, ii. 179

———. W., Esq., Secretary to Lord Castlereagh, i. 315, *n.*

———, Duke of, ii. 126

———, Rev. J. A., to Lord Cornwallis, on the proposed College at Armagh, i. 319

———, Sir William, i. 346—to Sir John C. Hippisley, on the negociations of Sir John with the Pope, iii. 474, 476

———, Mr., a rebel, i. 409; ii. 5, 16, 360

Hampden, Mr., a rebel, solicits the mercy of the Crown, i. 348

Hanover, boundaries of, settled by the Congress of Vienna, i. 53, *et seq.*

Hardinge, Captain G. N., i. 159

Hardwicke, Lord, appointed Lord-Lieutenant, iv. 83

Harrowby, Lord, to the Marquess of Londonderry, on the mission of Lord Castlereagh, and attempted assassination of the Duke of Wellington, i. 135

Hartland, Lord, iii. 378

Hastings, Mr., ii. 223

Hawes, Lieutenant, ii. 198

Hawker, Mr., intelligence from, respecting a projected descent of the French in Ireland, ii. 265

Hawkesbury, Lord, character of, iii. 350

Hay, Rev. George, ii. 333; iii. 80, *et seq.*

Hayes, Sir Samuel, iii. 378

Hearne, Mr., intercession of Roman Catholic clergy for, iii. 9

Heron, Sir Richard, i. 314, *n.*

Hertford, Lord, ii. 43, 331

Hervey, Beauchamp Bagenal, his connection with the Rebellion, capture, and execution of, i. 225, 226

Hillsborough, Lord, (afterwards Marquess of Downshire) i. 6 (See Downshire)

Hippisley, Sir J. C., to Lord Castlereagh, on the sentiments of the Catholics on the Union, and a State provision for their clergy, ii. 187—career and services of, 332, *n.*—to Lord Castlereagh, on the provision granted to the Scotch Roman Catholic priesthood, 370—on the state of affairs in Ireland, 398 — appointed to a vacant Roman Catholic Irish bishopric, iii. 12—on a provision for the Cardinal of York, 16—to the Rev. Dr. Troy, on a provision for the Catholic clergy, Pontifical oath, reform of Colleges, and the Cardinal of York, 80—to Lord Hobart, on a provision for Roman Catholic clergy, and the Union, 86—acknowledgment of public services of, by Lord Grenville, 99—to ——— on the Union and the Catholic question, 104 — regulations affecting the Irish Roman Catholics proposed by, 111, 142, *et seq.*—address of, 315—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Roman Catholic clergy, necessity for direct communication with the Pope, and Poyning's Act, 379—on the Laws affecting Ireland and the Catholics, 381—on the Pope, the Propaganda, and State provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, 384, 413—correspondence of, on the Catholic question, 400—to Lord Castlereagh, on a State provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, Cardinal York, &c., 413—acknowledgment of services of, by Ministers, and Lord Hood, 468—testimony to his services, 474 to 478—to Lord Castlereagh, on reform in the British and Irish Colleges at Rome, iv. 23

Hobart, Lord, correspondence of, with Sir John Hippisley, on the Catholic question, ii. 187, 370; iii. 445, *et seq.*

———, Lady Emily Anne, i. 7

Hoche, General, i. 270, 271, 273—receives the Irish emissaries, 280, 284—(appointed to command the expedition against Ireland), meets Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 310 — arrives at Rochelle, 435—alluded to, ii. 257, 263

Hogan, Robert G., Esq., plan of, respecting Tithes, iv. 210

Holford, George, Esq., M.P., i. 142

Holland, Lord, opposes the Union, iii. 287—moves to admit Catholic Peers, 292

Holland, preparations in, i. 307—expedition from, against Scotland, 309—the expedition to, ii. 77, 393, 398—troops from, proposed for service in Ireland, iii. 396

Holt, Joseph, surrender of, i. 149, 433—voluntary information of, ii. 186

Holy Alliance, the, i. 122

Home, Admiral, ii. 97, 98

Hood, Admiral Lord, iii. 93, 96—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, acknowledging the services rendered by him, 475

Horner, Rev. M., iii. 166

Hotze, General, ii. 249

Hue, Captain P., extract of a letter from, on the Irish prisoners on board H. M. ship Actæon, ii. 324

Humbert, General, landing of, at Killala, and advantage over General Lake, i. 150, 321, 374—his defeat at Ballynamuck, 151—his troops liberated and sent home, *ib.* — his instructions, 382, 383—address of, to the French army in Ireland, 384, 388—his Proclamation to the Irish nation, 385, 388—operations of, ii. 95

Hussey, Rev. Mr., (Roman Catholic priest) removal of, from Maynooth, ii., 284—system of, 285, *et seq.*—alluded to, iii. 23—doctrine of, regarding Protestants, 314, 411

———, Rev. Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford, iii. 88, 89

Hutchinson, Major-General, i. 321

Imperial Parliament, project for the representation of Ireland in, iii. 56, 61, 68

Inchiquin, Earl of, to Lord Cornwallis, on the indispensability of the Union, ii. 115—alluded to, iii. 372

Income Tax for Ireland proposed, i. 379—directions for imposing, ii. 247, 250—opinion of Lord Cornwallis respecting, 271, *et seq.*—tendency of, iii. 278

Indemnity, Bill of the, i. 364; ii. 73—proposed amendment of, 280

India, French expedition against, i. 454

Insurrection, the, in Dublin, of 23d

July, 1803, particulars of, iv. 313 to 336

Insurrection Act, the, passing of, i. 356—effect of, 360, 365—Bill to amend, ii. 176—debates upon, 182 to 189—principle of, 190—defective state of, 197—number of prisoners tried under, iv. 214

Ireland, projected invasion of, i. 232, *et seq.*, 263, 272, 274, 278, 282, 283, 286, 296, 302, 306, 308, 309, 316, 319, 340, 342, 363, 364, 366, 370, 372, 374, 383, 397, 410, 418, 422, 427, 434, 452, 453; ii, 76. 93, 97, 98, 132, 162, *et seq.*, 167, 193, 194, 227 to 229, 301; iii. 374, 376, 392, 393—proposed rebellion in, i. 286, 288—rebel force in, 287, 288—instructions to the French respecting, 287, 289, *et seq.*—wants of the rebels in, 298, 304—causes of disaffection in, *ib.* —proposed independence of, 299, 305—alleged disaffection of troops in, 299 to 306—Landing of the French in, 323, 338—Rebellion in, 353—borough interest in, 353, 367—embarkation of Dutch forces for, 375—representation of, 379—taxation of, *ib.*—General Humbert's instructions respecting the invasion of, 383—critical state of, 393, 438—Capture of fleets destined against, 427, 452—necessity for union of, with England, 436—parties in, 438—disaffection in, *ib.*—errors concerning, 440, 441—martial-law in, 446, 447; ii. 14, 73, 190, 191, 325—Dutch expedition against, 3—increase of disturbance in, 49, 50—tariff proposed for, 57—revenue of, 58—plan for strengthening the north of, 63—state of Protestant schools in, 66—Church lands and Bishops' leases in, 70—ferment in, 73—disposition of, towards the Union, 80—military committee of, 95—fate of a French expedition against, 97, 98—equalization of taxation in, 116—representation of, 143, 203—personal interests opposed to a Union in, 149—plan for new rebellion in, 186—plans of insurgents in, 194—Dutch preparations against, 200, 201—proposed Currency Bill for, 218, 221—financial arrangements of, 270, 294—proposed new university in, 64, 302, 381, *et seq.*—regulations for provisional government of, 307, 308—sale of gold coin, and forgery of bank notes in, 331—increase of revenue in, 341—tranquillity of, 351; iii. 366, 373, 379—intended rising in, ii. 395—public affairs in, 399, *et seq.*—religious sects in, 408, *et seq.*—new rising in, 415—general principles of Union of with Great Britain, iii. 41, *et seq.*—representation of, in Imperial Parliament, 56, 61, 68—reduction of boroughs in, 58—Parliamentary resolutions respecting Union of with England, 69—abuses of confession and absolution in, 157, 409, 412—quantity of malt-liquors and spirits made in, 175—revenue of, in 1799, 178—commercial arrangements with, 183, 187, *et seq.*—annual consumption in, 194—trade of, with England, 197—loans to, 198—cotton manufactures of, 204, *et seq.*—representation of, 213—monasteries and convents in, 316—disposition of Church funds in, 361, 366—causes of disturbance in, 365—scarcity in, 367, 371, 383—laws affecting, 380, 385—proposed employment of Dutch troops in, 396—power of the Pope and regulation of the Catholic clergy in, 400, *et seq.*—mendicant priests in, 410—supply of hemp from, 415—proposed war office for, 419, 420, 421—provincials of religious orders in, 438—state of, and course of affairs connected with, during 1801, iv. 1, *et seq.*—destitution in, 15—dissent in, 54, *et seq.*—resolution of the House of Commons for relief of public distress in, 69—insecurity and plan for defence of, 339

Irish nation, the, General Humbert's proclamation to, i. 385, 388—General James Napper Tandy's proclamation to, 407

Italy, explanations of Lord Castlereagh with respect to independence of, &c. i. 32, *et seq.*

Irving, Mr., to Lord Auckland, on commercial engagements, iii. 183

Jackson, Mr., ii. 127; iii. 265, 278

Jägerhorn, M., (a French spy) i. 274, 277, 282—proceedings of, in London, 286, 288—opinions of, respecting Ireland, 288, 289—apprehended, ii. 242—alluded to, 249—declaration of, 254, 261—examination of, *ib.*

Jamaica, insurrection of United Irish in, ii. 415

James, Alderman, ii. 431

Jameson, John, capture of vessel under the command of, i. 338

Jebb, Mr., his pamphlet on the Union, ii. 44, 45, 46, 50

Jenkinson, Mr., afterwards Earl of Liverpool, iii. 285

Jennings, Mr., a rebel, ii. 16

Johnson, Mr., his pamphlet on the Union, ii. 39, 160

Johnston, Mr., ii. 123

Joubert, General, i. 308

Jourdan, Marshal, ii. 249

Kearns, Rev. William, ii. 421

Keatinge, Mr., ii. 47

Keith, Lord, ii. 372; iii. 300

Kelly, Judge, ii. 395
——, Mr., i. 331
Kenmare, Lord, ii. 36, 46, 134, 147—proposed conference with, on the part of the Catholics, 148
Keogh, Captain, a rebel leader, i. 225
Keon, Myles, Esq., progress and result of his endeavours in favour of the Union, iii. 222.
Kildare, county of, notice to the inhabitants of, i. 169
Kilmaine, General, i. 263, 453
Kilwarden, Lord, i. 347; ii. 26, 62—scheme of, for general Court of Error in Ireland, iii. 317—alluded to, 373, 418
King, Colonel Robert, iii. 378
——, Mr. J., (Under Secretary to the Duke of Portland) to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of affairs in France, ii. 341—on indulgence to a State prisoner, 348, 359—on the proceedings of the Irish Committee at Paris, *ib.*—on the state of Ireland, English and French fleets, and General Aylmer, 371—on the movements at Brest, 376—on the trade with Barbary, the fleets, and reinforcements for Ireland, iii. 246—on adjourning Parliament, 262—on the speech of Mr. Pitt on the Union, and representative Peers, 283—on compensations, 300—on acceleration of the Union Act, 309—on the movements of the fleets, 320—on the passing of the Union Acts, 330—on a suspected traitor, 335—on the influence of Government, 367—on the United Parliament, and scarcity of food, 395; to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, with warrant for the removal of the State prisoners, iv. 75
——, Lord, iii. 287
——, Mr. R., American Minister, to the Duke of Portland, repudiating the Irish State prisoners, i. 394
King's Bench, Court of, evasion of a writ of, iii. 396, *et seq.*
Kingsborough, Lord, i. 223
Kingsmill, Admiral, i. 372; ii. 199
Knox, Mr. Alexander, to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, ii. 44—on Mr. Wilberforce, the Catholic question, discontent in Ireland, the Irish Parliament, and Emancipation, iv. 29—on the Catholic question, and dissent in Ireland, 53—on concessions to the Irish Presbyterians, 216, 252, 284—on the claims of Irish Dissenters, &c., 219—on the state of Ireland, and admission of Dissenters into Parliament, 279—on the law against Methodist preachers in Jamaica, 290
——, Hon. Brigadier-General, to the Adjutant-General, on the defence of Ireland, i. 198—to William Stewart, Esq., respecting a garrison for Enniskillen, 199—alluded to, 324; ii. 63; iii. 285
Kray, General, ii. 349
Kyle, Mr., iii. 230
Lake, Lieut.-General, appointed to the command in Ireland, i. 189—to Lord Castlereagh, on the powers of military commandants, 198—on re-inforcements for Ireland, 213—on a meeting with the rebels, 222—on the defeat of the rebels, 223—on the suppression of the Rebellion, 224—on treatment of prisoners, 225—on aid sent to Sir Charles Asgill, 226; alluded to, ii. 404, 428, 434
Landaff, Lord, to Lord Castlereagh, on the factious opposition to the Union in Tipperary, iii. 228
Lanigan, Rev. Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, to the Rev. Dr. Troy, on the conduct of the Irish priests, i. 160—alluded to, 332, 333—movements of, in Ireland, 339—proclamation of, 363, 368
Lansdowne, Marquess of, his mission to France, i. 277
Las Casas, M., extract of letter from, on the conquest of Ireland, i. 274
Latairière, M., ii. 195
Latouche, P. D., Esq., ii. 47, 51, 52
——, John, Esq., ii. 112
Laudohn, General, ii. 249
Lawless, Dr. W., a rebel Director, i. 240, 254—statement presented by, to the French, 397—solicits the appointment of surgeon to the army of United Irishmen, 396—alluded to, 409; iv. 7, 361
Lawrence, Dr., iii. 284
Lees, Sir John, ii. 397
Lefevre, General, ii. 249
Leinster, Duke of, sentiments of, on the Union, ii. 26—to Lord Castlereagh, announcing his determined opposition to the Union, 115—supports the Government candidate for Leinster, iii. 355, 356
Leighton, Captain, i. 238, 242
Leitrim, Lord, ii. 241
Le Large, Admiral, ii. 164
Lennan, Rev. Dr., to the Rev. Dr. Troy, on the result of the election at Newry, ii. 168
——, Captain John, ii. 266
Lewings, Mr., the rebel "Plenipotentiary" at Paris, i. 231, 241, 242—mission of, 270, 271—alluded to, 272, 275, 277, 282, 285, 306, 308, 398; ii. 4, 6, 360, *et seq*, French Minister's estimate of, i. 273, 276—his mission confirmed, 280, 284, 301, 306—solicits aid from Spain, 280, 285—proposes to embark in the Dutch fleet, 291, 295, 301—zeal and talents of, 300, 305
Limerick, Bishop of, to Lord Castlereagh, assuring him of his support, ii. 124
Lindsay, Mr. John, ii. 51

Linois, Major-General, ii. 269
Lismore, Lord, ii. 373; iii. 228
Little, Rev. Dr., character of assailed, iii. 393
Littlehales, Colonel, to Lord Castlereagh, on the threatened withdrawal of the Militia from Ireland, ii. 404—on the reception of Lord Cornwallis in the North of Ireland, 414—on same subject, and disasters in Holland, 430—on the raising of Fencible Corps in Ireland, 436—alluded to, iii. 222, 223—to Lord Castlereagh, on the cost of the Barrack department in Ireland, iii. 370—on the state of Ireland, and probabilities regarding a new invasion, 376—on the embodiment of a Militia, force, and state of Ireland, iv. 281
Liverpool, Earl of, i. 117
Lloyd, Captain D., to Lord Duncan, on the seizure of certain treasonable correspondence, ii. 102
Loan to Ireland, the, method of arranging, ii. 196—probability of obtaining a, 247—attainment and terms of, 314—alluded to, iii. 260
Loans, Irish, raised in England, iii. 198—memorandum relative to, 201
Loftus, General, to Lord Castlereagh, on his retirement from Parliament, iii. 19—alluded to, 286
London, the special object of the French expedition, i. 410
Londonderry, Earl of, to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of public feeling, ii. 39—alluded to, 331, 430, 438—waives his claim to a British Peerage, iii. 351, 358, 359
————, (present) Marquess of, opinion of the Duke of York respecting, ii. 89—severely wounded, 429—extract of Letter to, on the means by which the Union was effected, iv. 479
————, Peerage, the, iii. 345, 347, 350, 357, 359
Long, Mr., ii. 197
Longford, Earl of, to Lord Castlereagh, declining to sign a protest in favour of the Union, 173
Longmarre, M., ii. 225
Longueville, Lord, ii. 390
Lord Primate of Ireland, the, appointed one of the Provisional Lords Justices, ii. 301
Loughborough, Lord, iii. 418; iv. 27
Loyalists, the Irish, claims of, for compensation, ii. 245
Lucan, Lord, ii. 328
Luttrell, Mr., M.P., ii. 90, 241
Lyle, Samuel, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of feeling in the North of Ireland, ii. 128
Lynch, Mr., i. 344; ii. 348
Lysoght, Mr., iv. 18

Mac Cabe, John, a rebel, i. 460
Mac Cleland, Mr., i. 342—to the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, on the proceedings of the Irish Bar, ii. 37—advocates the Union, 38
Mac Cord, Mr. a rebel, i. 335, 336
Macdonald, General, reported defeat of, ii. 349
Macdonnel, Rev. Mr., ii. 188; iii. 417
Mac Dowell, Rev. Dr., iii. 166
Mac Geogh, Mr., ii. 123
Mac Kenna, Mr., i. 432; iii. 27—to Mr. Cooke, on the Catholic question, ii. 65
Mac Kinley, Mr., ii. 235
Maclean, Mr., iii. 270
Maclintock, Mr., ii. 126
Mac Mahon, Mr., a rebel, plans an insurrection in London, ii. 3—proceedings of, on the continent 435
————, Mr., a clergyman-privateer, i. 409
Mac Naghten, Mr., ii, 127
Mac Nevin, Dr., his apprehension, i. 148—his memorial relative to the rebellion, 228, 246, 248, 278, 283—sent to Paris as the agent of the rebels, 271—his explanations to the French minister, 277, 282, *et seq.*—his memorial to the directory concerning the invasion of Ireland, 295, 301, 369—proposes to attack Enniskillen, 297, 303—his confession, 349, 351—treatment of, 352, 353—assertion of, iv. 461
Macpherson, Rev. P., to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on the character of Pope Pius VII., cardinal York, iv. 22
Madder, Mr., to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish breweries, iii. 486
Madget, Mr., a rebel emissary at Paris, i. 306, 308, 397—suggests the seizure of the funds of King George III. in the bank of Venice, *ib.*—tampers with the Irish prisoners in France, 398
Magee, Mr., iii. 230
Maginnis, Rev. Mr., iv. 14
Maguire, Mr., a rebel, i. 409; ii. 6, 46
Mallet du Van, M., i. 257
Malta, alleged sale of, by French officers, i. 269
Maragan, M. (French minister at Hamburg) to M. de Talleyrand, on the passport for an Irish fugitive, ii. 96—demands the liberation of Irishmen arrested at Hamburg, 99 *n*.
Marengo, Battle of, iii. 341
Marky, Dr., superior of the Irish community at Paris, iii. 400
Marsden, Mr., under-secretary to Lord Cornwallis, i. 336—interview of, with the state prisoners, 352—to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of Ireland, ii. 406

—to Colonel Littlehales, on the petition of Dublin, 407—to Lord Castlereagh, on the new rising in Ireland, and insurrection in Jamaica, 415—on the scarcity in Ireland, 427—on the murder of the Chancellor's steward, state of the country, and aspect of the crops, 435—on the state of Ireland, and scarcity, iii. 371, 381—on the survey of the harbour of Dublin, 372 — on disturbances in Limerick, scarcity, supply of corn, 382 —on the export of grain, and the plans of the disaffected, 393

Marshall, Mr. to Lord Castlereagh, on the leading features of the Union, i. 378—on the retirement of Mr. Pelham, 411, 415

Marshal law, exercise of in Ireland, ii. 325—bill for, iii. 214—proposed renewal of, iv. 22

Massena, General, retreat of, ii. 343—alluded to, iii. 294—rumoured defeat and death of, 299, 300

Matheray, Mad. de, ii. 342

Mathisson, Mdlle., ii. 256, 262, *et seq.*

Matthews, Major, to Sir Charles Ross, on the Anti-Union petition signed by the Downshire militia, iii. 233—statement of respecting the Anti-Union petition, 233, 234—projected removal and Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of, 236, 239

Maxwell, Colonel, ii. 369

May, Mr., ii. 415

Maynooth, College of, grants to, ii. 277, 279—charges brought against, by Lord Clare, 278—object, constitution, and government of, and doctrines inculcated by, 282, *et seq.*; iii. 21—probable results of abolition of, ii. 289—reasons in favour of, 385—defect in the constitution of, 413—expulsion of rebel students from, iii. 9—accounts of, from its institution to 1799, 75—students of, 77—resolution for enforcing loyalty and obedience in, 78—alluded to, 143, *et seq.*—system pursued at, 310, 402, *et seq.*—benefits derived from, 460

Mayo, county of, proclaimed, ii. 73

Meath, Bishop of, ii. 61—to Lord Castlereagh on the Catholic question, 148—conversion and career of, 149 *n.*—to Lord Castlereagh, on the College of Maynooth, on the system of the Romish Priesthood in Ireland, 282, *et seq.*—to Mr. Marshall, with protest against the resolutions of the Anti-Unionists, 309 —to Lord Castlereagh, on uniting and identifying the churches of England and Ireland, iii. 1, 2, *et seq.* — hints on writers in favour of a Union by, 26—letters of, upon a provision for the Catholic clergy, 222—to Lord Castlereagh, on the union of the English and Irish churches, and Episcopal representation, 253 — on the system pursued at Maynooth, 310 — on compensation for ecclesiastical Boroughs, on Church funds, and non-residence, 360—on provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, and necessity for direct negociation with the Pope, power of the Pope in Ireland, and abuses in confession and absolution, 400

Meath, County of, protest from, against the resolutions of the Anti-Unionists, ii. 309

Militia, the, said to favour the rebels, i. 271, 301, 306—deserters from the, 337 —want of discipline among the, 342—difficulties respecting the, 450, 451 —threatened withdrawal of, from Ireland, ii. 11, 40, 43—Acts of Parliament relative to, *ib.*—secret instructions respecting, 88—alleged corruption of, 186—expense of, 245—plans for enlisting into the army, 390, 398 — proposed reduction and withdrawal of, 402, 403, 404, 405—bounty offered to, iii. 211—attempt of Lord Downshire to incite opposition of, to the Union, 230 to 240—ignorance of, 231—half-pay to captains of, iv. 219 — raising and embodiment of, in Ireland, 233 to 246—capabilities of, 377

Millar, Dr., iii. 230

Miller, Mr. George, to Lord Castlereagh, on the proposed college at Armagh, ii. 302

——, Rev. William, ii. 417

Milner, Mr., his Letters to a Prebendary, iii. 382 — speech of, on the Catholic question, iv. 32

Minto, Lord, his speech on the Union, ii. 353—alluded to, iii. 292—negociations of, with the Pope, 469—opinion of, on political relations with the Pope, 472

Molyneux, Mr. C., ii. 123

Monk, Lord, i. 433

Moore, Arthur, M. P., iii. 211

———, Captain, ii. 329

———, Captain Hugh, ii. 231

———, Sir John, i. 339

———, Mr., a rebel, ii. 7

———, Robert, a rebel, proceedings of, in America, ii. 243

———, Stephen, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of feeling respecting the Union, ii. 343

———, Thomas, strictures on his Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, i. 466—letter from, in reference thereto, 467

More, Mr., ii. 123

Moreau, General, ii. 342

Morres, Citizen Hervey, M., secret memorial of, to the French minister, setting forth his services and operations during the rebellion, ii. 94—instructions of, relative to the landing of an enemy in Ireland, 96—solicits a passport for Paris, 98

Mountcashel, Lord, iii. 228

Mountmorris, Lord, iii. 245

Moylan, Rev. Dr., (Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork) ii. 362, 370; his opinion of Lord Cornwallis, 371; to Sir J. P. Hippisley on the state of Ireland, 399; alluded to, iii. 85, 89, 413; to Mr. Marshall, on distressed French emigrants, the Union, and disaffection, 364—character of, 460

Muir, Thomas, rebel agent of Paris, i. 306, 308, 398; ii. 6

Mulgrave, Lord, iii. 291

Mumford, Captain, ii. 359, *et seq*., 371

Munster, the Escheatorship of, ii. 321

Murphy, Rev. Father, a rebel leader, account of, with extracts from his diary, ii. 230, *et seq.*

Murphy, Mr., a rebel, i. 402, 403, 407—made prisoner, 464

Myers, General, i. 327, iii. 365

Napier, Colonel, iii. 371

National Committee, the Irish, i. 360

——— Delegates, election of, i. 360, 361

Naval, M., negotiates with Spain for assistance to the Irish rebels, i. 281, 285

Navy, the British, terror of, among the French, i. 453

———, the Dutch, capture of, ii. 77

Neilson, Samuel, a rebel, apprehended, i. 148—alluded to, 351

Nelson, Lord, victory of, i. 324—alluded to, 332, 346

Nepean, Evan, Esq., i. 318—to Lord Castlereagh, with intelligence of the fleets, 381; ii. 295, 296; iii. 318

Neville, Mr., iii. 274

Newcomen, Sir W., ii. 324

Nisser, M., ii. 256, 262

Nixon, Captain, trial of, i. 432

Norbury, Lord. (*See* Toler, Mr.)

Norfolk, Duke of, to Mr. Secretary Craggs, concerning a document referring to the Catholics, iv. 474; threatened arrest of, 475

Nugent, Major-General, i. 221, 222; to Major-General Hewett, on the state of Ireland—military operations, 332; State paper inadvertently published by, 351

O'Connor, Arthur, a rebel leader, apprehended, i. 148, 203, 211, 248, 259—examined concerning his proceedings, 309—accompanies Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Paris, 310—confession of, 316, 351, 372—advertisement of, respecting his evidence, 329—proposes terms to Government, 349—treatment of, in prison, 352, 353—alluded to, 374—refused an asylum in America, 405—alluded to, ii. 236

O'Connor, Roger, a State prisoner, ii. 348

O'Donnell, Mr., his amendment to the Address upon the Union, iii. 219

O'Finn, Mr., a rebel, ii. 5

Ogle, Mr., M.P., ii. 191; iii. 213

O'Hara, Mr., a rebel, i. 327

O'Mely, Mr., a rebel, ii. 7—secret information respecting, 359, *et seq.*—attempts to trace, 366, 367, 371

O'Neil, Dennis (Colonel in the Rebel Army), memorial of, to the French Government, ii. 230

———, Viscount, iii. 21

Orange Lodges, the, origin of, i. 147—result of establishment of, 357—resolution of, upon the Union, ii. 44, 53, 80—violent opposition of, 128; iii. 87

Orangemen, the, ii. 326

Ormonde, Marquess of, ii. 127, 354—engagement of Lord Cornwallis to, iii. 325—claims of, 345

Ormsby, Charles, Esq., iv. 13

Orr, Joseph, a rebel, proceedings of, i. 409

Padenheim, M., ii. 253, 255, 256, 260, 261, 262, *et seq.*

Page, Sir Thomas, iii. 381

Paine, Thomas, ii. 5, 7

Pakenham, Hon. Captain, report of, concerning the defence of Ireland, i. 183—concerning that of Dublin, 192, 196—alluded to, iii. 23, 24

Pallière, Adjutant-General, ii. 269

Palmerston, Lord, i. 142

Pardon, Bill of, i. 312, 314, 321

Parliament, the British, resolution of, for relief of public distress in Ireland, iv. 69

————, the Irish, circular to Members of, ii. 82—final prorogation of, 219

Parnell, Sir John, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, i. 416—intentions of, regarding the Union, ii. 9, 29, 60—removal of, from office, 92—his method of acting, 113—alluded to, 127, 171, 190, 194, 317, 324, 354; iii. 213—his speech against the Union, 130, 131—character of, 138—threatens to secede from the House, 192—proposes the dissolution of the Irish Parliament, 214—statements of, respecting Irish expenditure, 244—opposition of, 271

Parsons, Sir Lawrence, his amendment against the Union, ii. 74; iii. 210

Peace, the Prince of the, on Spanish intervention in Ireland, i. 281, 285

Pearce, Mr. (afterwards Dean of Ely), i. 5

Peel, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert), iii. 249, 250

——, Sir Robert, to the Marquess of Londonderry, respecting Lord Castlereagh's official career, i. 130—alluded to, 466

Peep-of-day Boys, the, i. 358

Peers, proposed new creations of, iii. 320

——, the Irish Representative, Government influence in election of, iii. 367, 369

Pelham, Right Hon. Thomas (afterwards Lord Chichester), appointed Chief Secretary, i. 11 — opposes the Catholic claims, *ib.*—resignation of, 12, 325, 375, 378, 391, 404, 406, 411, 412—to Lord Castlereagh, on the defeat of the French and rebels by Lieut.-General Lake, 344—announces his retirement, 419; alluded to, 444; ii. 245, 320, 397—sentiments of, respecting direct communications with the Pope, iii. 379—official provision for, 387, 388—to Lord Hardwicke on the Irish Militia, iv. 235

Pellew, Sir Edward, information obtained by, i. 319—alluded to, ii. 76, 179

Pery, Lord, opinion of, on the Union, ii. 18, 25—his advice to the opponents of the Union, 126

Pinto, M. de, ii. 351

Pitt, Right Hon. William, i. 158, 160, 320, 329, 376; ii. 81, 113, 196, 276, 434; iii. 251, 252, 260, 261, 278, 283, 295, 301, 322, 333, 335—sentiments of towards Lord Castlereagh, i. 325, 326, 375, 377, 425—to Lord Castlereagh, respecting the State prisoners, 329—proposes a provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, 394—opinion of on the Catholic claims, 404—on the Union, 412; proposes the Union to Parliament, ii. 72—his statements impugned, 74—to Lord Castlereagh, on the sentiments of various influential persons, 116—determination of, with regard to the Union, 137—speech of, on the Union, 154, 170, 172, 314—project for the assassination of, 194—defence of Irish Government by, 237—to Lord Castlereagh, on money required for Ireland, 249—on the disposition of Lord Downshire, iii. 10—his opinion of the consequences of the Union, 216, *n.*—moves the Address in favour of the Union, 217, 299—to Lord Castlereagh, on the regulation of cotton duties, 250—approves the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, 258—altercation of, with Mr. Tierney, 262—illness of, 278, 350—speech of, on the Union, 286—plans of, for accelerating the passing of the Union Act, 309—sanction of, to the engagements to supporters of the Union, 328—retirement of, iv. 26, 34, 47—speech of, concerning the Catholics, 32—sentiments of, on the Catholic question, 39—accused of duplicity, 51, 60

Pius III., Pope, proposed communication with, respecting a State provision for the Irish priesthood, ii. 189—avowed political connections with, 363—exaction of rescripts from, 370—concessions of, to England, iii. 82—approves the project for endowing the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, 87, 92, 384, 401—supplies provisions to the English fleet, 93, 96, 99, 102—indispensability of direct negociations with, 117, 142, 379, 401, 471, *et seq.*—alters the Pontifical oath taken by the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy, 128, 134 — indirect negociations with, 468—character of, 471, 472—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, expressing his high esteem for the English, 472

Plunkett, Mr., to the Marquess of Londonderry, on his obligations to Lord Castlereagh, i. 138—alluded to, 344; ii. 190; iii. 210

———, Rev. Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, to Lord Castlereagh, declining openly to support the Union, ii. 437—alluded to, iii. 400

Plowden, Mr., to Lord Cornwallis, on the treatment of the Catholics, iv. 372, 373

Poland, proceedings of the Congress of Vienna with respect to, i. 48, *et seq.*

Pollock, Mr., ii. 332

Ponsonby, Mr., declaration of, i. 8—alluded to, 344; ii. 190; iii. 213, 262—his amendment against the Union, ii. 74, 130, 131, 133, 145

Pontifical Oath, the, alteration of, iii. 82, 130—nature of, 126—answer of College of Cardinals to Irish Roman Catholic Prelates respecting, 127—form of, 134

Portarlington, Lord, speech of, against the Catholics, iii. 95, 97

Portland, Duke of, to Lord Castlereagh, concerning the Londonderry peerage, i. 96—to Thomas Daniel, Esq., respecting passports for Ireland, 214—to Lord Cornwallis, on the evidence to be laid before the Secret Committees, 229—instructions of, respecting the confession of the State prisoners, 316—alluded to, 323, 328, 404, 413—to Lord Cornwallis on the proposed articles of the Union, ii. 19—to Lord Castlereagh, respecting his presence in London, 23—approves the treatment of the State prisoners, 27—to Lord Cornwallis, on the articles of the Union, 53—to Lord Castlereagh, on the state of Ireland, 61 — secret instructions of, 88 — to Lord Cornwallis, respecting his speech to the Irish Parliament, 109—on the introduction of the Union to the Parliaments, 117—on the course to be pursued regarding the Union, 134 — to

Lord Castlereagh, on opposition to the Union, and the Catholic claims, 145—to Lord Cornwallis, on the articles of the Union, 154—opinion of, respecting college dispensations, 177—to Lord Cornwallis, on the course to be pursued regarding the Union, 201—to Lord Castlereagh, on the vote of thanks to the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, 207—to Lord Cornwallis, on the Regency Bill, 213—on the closing of the session, 291—on regulations for the government of Ireland, 308—on the communication of intelligence between London and Dublin, 312—on the speech of the Lord Lieutenant to the Parliament, 135—on official opponents of the Union, 317—on the escheatorship of Munster, 320—on the movements of the French and Spanish fleets, 350—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on a provision for the Scotch Roman Catholic Clergy, 362—to Lord Cornwallis, on the proposed new Irish university, 381—on measures concerning the militia, 390—to Lord Castlereagh, on reinforcements from Ireland, iii. 227—on the anti-Union petition of the Down militia, 235—to Lord Cornwallis, on the removal of Lord Downshire from office, 240—on the resolution in favour of the Union, 243—on the supply of corn to Ireland, 246—on the cotton duties, 248—to Lord Castlereagh, on the alleged impatience of Government respecting the Union, 256—to Lord Cornwallis, on the proposed Court of Error, 316—on the proposed new Peers, and royal assent to the Union Act, 320—scruples of, respecting the engagements to supporters of the Union, 322, 324, 326, 330, 333, 334, 335, 336, 341—to Lord Cornwallis, confirming his arrangements, 343—to Lord Castlereagh, on the conduct and talents of his Lordship, and the Londonderry Peerage, 347—harsh letter of, to Lord Cornwallis, 350, 359—to Lord Castlereagh, on the rejoicings on the accomplishment of the Union, 352—on the election of the representative Peers, 368—entertains the question of a State provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy, 400—to Lord Castlereagh, on the conduct of the Emperor Paul, and the supply of hemp from Ireland, 414—on the State prisoners, and expiry of the Habeas Corpus Act Suspension Bill, iv. 74

Prentice, Thomas, publications of, iii. 18

Presbyterians, the Irish, unite with the Catholics to obtain reform, i. 356, 357—conciliation of, ii. 78—settlement of, and grants from the Crown to, iii. 161—discipline of the general Synod of, 163—list of congregations of, 165, 166—connection between general Synod of and Government, 172, 421, *et seq.*—part taken by, regarding the Union, 221—privileges and interests of, 266, 287—grant of money to Synod of, 388, 389, *et seq.*—observations on situation of, iv. 252—provision for clergy of, 284

Press, treatment of the, in Ireland, i. 299, 305

Priesthood, the Irish Roman Catholic, allegation of rebels concerning, i. 298, 303—proposed State provision for, 394; ii. 36, 139, 141, 188, 189; iii. 21—address from, to Lord Camden, ii. 230 *n.*—subterfuge of, regarding Maynooth, 284—plans of, for the destruction of the Irish Protestant schools, 285, 286—system of, regarding the Protestants, 287—attempts to multiply the number of, in Ireland, 290—their support to the Union, 328—implicated as authors and promoters of the rebellion, 424—education of iii. 21, 72; *see* also Clergy, the Irish Roman Catholic

Prisoners, the Irish, in France, proposed corruption of, i. 299, 304, 355—compelled to join the expedition against Ireland, 309

Prisoners of State, the, refuse to give up the names of their foreign agents, i. 310—evidence of, *ib.*—correspondence with, 313—confession of, 316—offensive advertisement published by, 328, 336—title of, to pardon, 330—examined by Secret Committee, 336, 352, 353—communications of, with Government, 347—offer of, respecting a confession, *ib.*—request an interview with Lord Castlereagh, 349—stipulations of, with Government, 350, 351—memorial of, regarding the rebellion, 352, 353—ordered into solitary confinement, *ib.*—repudiation of, by America, 395, 405, 413—policy pursued towards, ii. 27, 28—choice of banishment, or prosecution, offered to, 40—release of, 86—disposal of, 87, 185—removal of, to Scotland, 236, 327—treatment of, 248; iii. 418

Proby, Lord, iv. 15

Proclamation, the, proposed to be issued by the rebels, i. 299, 304

Propaganda, the College of, to the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates, on the part taken by the Catholics in the Rebellion, iii. 95, 97—extract from memorial of, relative to the Catholics in Britain, 109—favours the project of a State

provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, 384
Protestants, the Irish, statistics of, ii. 408, *et seq.*
Prussia, arrangement of Territory of, at the Congress of Vienna, i. 31, *et seq.*—receives Irish Insurgent prisoners as recruits, ii. 300
Puget, Mr., ii. 197
Pulteney, Sir James, iii. 396

Queen's County, notice to the inhabitants of, i. 186
Quigley, Mr., a rebel, his intrigues in London, ii. 3—proceedings of, on the continent, 4—"martyrdom" of, 193

Rae, General, i. 401, 403, 406, 408
Rainey, Mr., pardon solicited for, ii. 330
Rebel Emigrants, the, ii. 3
Rebel Officers, appointment of, i. 361, 362
Rebellion, the Irish, memoir of State prisoners respecting, i., 353 — commencement of, ii. 231 *n.*—rise and progress of, 325, *et seq.*
Rebels, the Irish, demands of, on the French, i. 287, 289, 300, 305—solicit the aid of Spain, 298, 304—organization of, 361—arming of, 362—attempt to obtain officers from abroad, and to seduce the military, 363—repudiation of, by America, 394—their fears of the French, 410—assistance rendered by, to the French invading Ireland, ii. 95—capture of several at Hamburg, 104—plans of, for a new rebellion, 186—number of, tried and convicted, to February, 1799, 192—proceedings of Committee of, at Paris, 360, *et seq.*—movements of, 366
Redesdale, Lord, to Lord Fingall, on the duties of a Justice of the Peace, iv. 298—on the doctrines of the Romish Priesthood, 304, 308, 311
Redon, Citizen, ii. 164, 166, 217, 297
Reform for Ireland, question of, i. 353, 359, 364, 367, 371
Reformers, the Irish, proposed convention of, i. 354—become revolutionists, 355
Regency Bill, the Irish, ii. 74, 75, 141, 156, 180, 185—objections to, 192, 269, 270—views of Government respecting, 213—committed, 269—abandoned, 274
Reilly, Rev. Dr., (Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland), ii. 347, 348; iii. 106
Reinhardt, M., (French resident at Hamburg), i. 270—to M. de la Croix, on the invasion of Ireland, and on the character of the rebel leaders, 272, 277—urges the Irish to rise, 279, 283—to M. de la Croix, on the proceedings of a spy in London, 286, 288—on certain Irish emissaries, 289, 290—to M. de Talleyrand, on the state of Irish affairs, 290, 291—alluded to, 292, 294; ii. 255, 262
Renaudin, Citizen, ii. 164, 218
Representation of Ireland, project for, iii. 56—memorandum relative to, 61—suggestions of the Lord-Lieutenant relative to, 68
Revenue, the Irish, regulation of, ii, 58
Reynolds, Thomas, colonel of the rebel army, gives misinformation to the Government, i. 148—alluded to, 459
———, Mr., a rebel emissary, reception of, in America, ii. 243
Richardson, Mr., ii. 123
Ripon, Earl of, i. 124—to the Marquess of Londonderry, on the administration of Lord Castlereagh, and the state of Europe in 1813-15, 125
Rivière, Captain, ii. 269
Robinson, Primate, his bequest for the endowment of a college at Armagh, i. 320
Roche, Mr. E., a rebel leader, ii. 232, *n.*
Rogers, W. Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the impositions practised by Anti-Union petitionists, iii. 242
Roman Catholic Clergy of Scotland, provision made for, (See Scotland)
Rome, reform of British Colleges at, iv. 21, 22
———, See of, bulls, briefs, and rescripts from, iii. 90, 91, 92, 93, 114, 135—services of, to the English Government, 116—negociations with, 117—teaching of, regarding the pontifical oath, 126, *et seq.*—relations of with England, 144, *et seq.*, 401, *et seq.* (See also Pope, the)
Romish Catechism, the, additions to, on the duties of Catholic subjects to temporal powers, iii. 134, 135
Roper, Thomas, declaration of, respecting the capture of his vessel, i. 400
Roscommon, Lord, iii. 222
Rose, Right Hon. George, to Lord Castlereagh, on the Currency Bill for Ireland, ii. 218, 221—alluded to, 243, 378—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish loan, 247, 324—on the absentee tax, and pensions of Lords St. Vincent and Duncan, 334—to the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, on the supply of corn to Ireland, iii. 10—to Lord Castlereagh:—countervailing and excise duties, iii. 270, 306
Ross, Major-General Sir Charles, ii. 388—to the Rev. Dr. Coppinger, on the disorders in the county of Cork, 389, 390—to Major Matthews, on the Anti-Union petition of the Down Militia, iii. 332—to Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales, on the same subject, 233

Rosse, Earl of, iii. 378

Rossmore, Lord, ii. 106

Roveray, Colonel de, ii. 342

Royal Family, arrears of pensions to, ii. 324

Russia, Emperor (Paul) of, causes Napper Tandy to be given up to the English, ii. 77—counsels and efforts of, 398—proposal for sending troops of, to Ireland, 430—alluded to, 260—quarrel of, with England, 342—violent proceedings of, 414—death of, 415, *n.*

———, Minister of, at Hamburg, interferes respecting the arrest of Irish rebels there, i. 326

Ruxton, Mr., ii. 190

Ryan, Captain, wounded by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, i. 424—narrative respecting the death of, 457, *et seq.*

———, Mr. D. F., to Lord Londonderry, on the death of Captain Ryan, i. 457 to 465

———, Rev. Mr., ii. 421

Ryder, Right Hon. Mr., iii. 310, 350

Saint Domingo, Island of, state of, in 1800, iii. 342

Saint George, the Chevalier de, (the Pretender), conduct of the Pope and the Catholics towards, iv. 437, 465

Saint Vincent, Lord, pension granted to, ii. 334—attempt to subject to the Absentee Tax, *ib.*, *et seq.*; alluded to, iii. 319—opinion of, regarding the blockade of Brest, 377

Sampson, Mr., a rebel, i. 348

Sandford, Mr., title conferred on, iii. 321—alluded to, iv. 18

Saumarez, Sir Thomas, i. 238, 242

Saurin, Mr., opposition of, to the Union, i. 343, 429; ii. 37, 38, 41, 84—proposes to the Yeomanry to disband, 79, 81—proposed testimonial to, 353; iii. 213—character of, 215

Saxony, arrangements respecting, at the Congress of Vienna, i. 48, *et seq.*

Schools, the Catholic, in Ireland, proposal for regulating, iii. 156

———, the Protestant, in Ireland, state of, ii. 66—proposed improvements in, 68—integrity of, maintained, 382—efforts of the Catholics against, iii. 314

Schouler, Captain, ii. 300

Scorsfield, J. K., ii. 324

Scotland, projected Dutch expedition against, i. 309

————, Roman Catholic Bishops of, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on the State provision procured for them, ii. 332

Scott, Sir Claude, ii. 427

——, Sir Walter, on the Biography of Lord Castlereagh, i. 102

——, Sir William, iii. 295

Secret Committee on the Rebellion, the, report of, i. 337; ii. 242

——— Intelligence from France, i. 165, 231, 249, 265, *et seq.*, &c., 306, 319, 373, 451—relative to Ireland and to insurgents, 397; ii. 104, 162, *et seq.*, 167, 194, 206, 211, 265, 342, 376—from Holland, ii., 200, 201, 210, 212, 301, 311

——— Societies, i. 355—proceedings of, 356

Shannon, Earl of, ii. 8, 25, 128—appointed one of the Provisional Lords Justices of Ireland, 308—to Lord Castlereagh, on the representation of Ireland, 439—alluded to, iii. 369

Sharkey, Mr., ii. 330

Shaw, Mr., M.P., ii. 241

Sheares, the Brothers, apprehended, i. 148—executed, 150—notice of, 227, 258

Shee, Sir George, iv. 52

Sheffield, Lord, ii. 397, *n.*

Sheridan, Mr., proposes resolutions against the Union, ii. 73—opposes the Union, iii. 286

Sherrard, Rev. John, to Lord Castlereagh, on the grant of money to the Irish Protestant Dissenting Ministers, iii. 389

Shrewsbury, Earl of, threatened arrest of, iv. 473

Siéyes, the Abbé, ii. 5, 342

Simms, Mr., a rebel, ii. 5

Sinclair, Sir John, ii. 436

Sirr, Major, his claims and services, i. 423—captures Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 461—to Mr. D. F. Ryan, respecting the arrest of Lord Edward, 463

Sligo, state of feeling in upon the Union, ii. 328

Smith, Adam, opinion of, respecting a State provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, iii. 462

———, Sir Michael, ii. 380

———, William (afterwards Baron), i. 344; ii. 40, 130—his pamphlet on the Union, 160, 380

Spain, assistance of, solicited by the Irish rebels, i. 272—proposed expedition from, against Ireland, 309

Spencer, Earl, to King George III., on the Catholic claims, iv. 378

Stair, Earl of, to Lord Stanhope, recommending Dr. Strickland, iv. 451

Stanhope, Lord, iv. 451, 473

Stanley, Serjeant, iii. 223

State provision for Roman Catholic clergy. (See Clergy, Roman Catholic.)

Stewart, Colonel William, his services, i, 2

————, Robert, particulars respecting, i. 3

————, Sir James, i. 226

————, Mr., a rebel, i. 253, 254

Stewart, Lieutenant-Colonel, (now Marquess of Londonderry), i. 86—his conduct as commanding officer, ii. 105, 106, 112
Stone, Mr., a rebel agent at Paris, i. 306, 308
Strickland, Dr., proposals of, respecting the Catholics, iv. 439—testimonial to, 444, 451—memorial of, respecting the Catholics, 463, 468—to Secretary Craggs, on the arrangements regarding the Catholics, and his preferment, 470—memorandum on the preferment of, 478
Sturges, Dr., iii. 470
Sullivan, Mr., a rebel, i. 307
Supremacy, the oath of, ii. 412, *et seq.*
Suwaroff, General, ii. 249
Swan, Mr. John, iv. 16
Swann, Mr., i. 424, 460—wounded by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 461

Taafe, Rev. Mr., his pamphlet on the Union, ii. 51
Talleyrand de Perigord, M. i. 269—presents a petition from the Irish rebels to the French directory, 306—statement presented to, by the rebels, 397—opinion of, respecting Ireland, ii. 361
Tandy, James Napper, i. 151—proceedings of, at Hamburg, 306—appointed general, *ib.*—alluded to, 331, 373, 398—attempts a landing in Ireland, 400, 401—abandons the enterprise, 403—instructions for the apprehension of, 405—information relative to, 406—character and behaviour of, 407—proclamation of, *ib.*—impeachment of, by his associates, 408—alluded to, 410—situation of, at Paris, ii. 6—given up by the Senate of Hamburg, 77—arrest of, 87, 99, *n.*, 100
Tarrant, Colonel Charles, proposals of, concerning the defence of Ireland, i. 193
Taylor, Brigadier, i. 332, 334
———, Sir Herbert, to Lord Castlereagh, on the military operations in Ireland, i. 339—alluded to, 383, 424, 429; ii. 134, 137—to Colonel Brownrigg, on the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart as commanding officer, 105
Temple, Lord, iii. 310
———, Captain, ii. 199
Tennent, Mr., a rebel, ii. 6
Thelusson and Goldsmid, Messrs., ii. 255—262
Thugut, M., iii. 310
Tierney, Mr., M.P., iii. 262—opposes the Union, 286—moves an amendment on the wool duties, 299
Tighe, Mr., ii. 183, 320, 322
Tippoo Saib, Sultan, attempts of the French to conciliate, i. 454
Tithes, propositions respecting the Irish, i. 379, 432; ii. 141, 158—resistance to payment of, 174—Bill respecting, iv. 25—remarks on, by Lord Castlereagh, 193—suggestions and plan respecting, 206, 210
Toler, Mr., (afterwards Lord Norbury) ii. 73, 428 *n.*
Tone, Theobold Wolfe, i. 152, 306, 327, 398, 409, 410—his trial and defence, 432—treasonable letter of, to a French officer, 434—distresses of, 435—attempted suicide of, 445—opinion of Crown lawyers respecting, *ib.*—demands to be tried by the civil law, 446—alluded to, ii. 6—death of, 7—notice of, by Sir John Moore, *ib.*—case of, 14
Tooke, Horne, iii. 105
Tottenham, Mr. Charles, to Lord Castlereagh, on the compensations for ecclesiastical boroughs, and rebuilding of churches in Ireland, iii. 323
——, Mr., i. 306, 307, 409
Toussaint, General, sentiments of, on the invading of Jamaica, ii. 418—failure of regarding his treaty with England, iii. 342
Town, Thomas, excommunication of, ii. 288
Trevor, Right Hon. John, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, acknowledging his public services, iii. 474
Troops, the, in Ireland, attempted seduction of, i. 363
Troy, Rev. Dr. (Roman Catholic Bishop of Dublin), to R. Marshall, Esq., in exculpation of the Roman Catholic priests, i. 176—his address to the Roman Catholic clergy, 209—sentiments of, regarding the Union, and the State provision for the Catholic clergy, ii. 36; iii. 86—to Lord Castlereagh, on the result of a Catholic meeting, ii. 61—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on the claims and conduct of the Catholics, 171—alluded to, 187, 426, *n.*; iii. 9, 12, 88, 89, 106, 108; iv. 49—opposes the reform of the Irish College at Rome, ii. 188—to R. Marshall, Esq., on the Union, 344, 349—on the declaration of a condemned rebel, 418—to R. Marshall, Esq., on the implication of Catholics in the rebellion, iii. 9—information of, touching the Catholic question, 401, 408, 409—to Mr. Cooke, on the regulation and discipline of Irish Roman Catholic clergy, 437—appointment of, as Bishop, 457
Turner, Mr. (*alias* "Furnes"), a rebel, i. 277, 282—his sentiments regarding the rebellion, 278, 283—alluded to, 280, 284, 300, 305—obtains a passport for Paris, as an American, 282, 285—re-

fuses to join the expeditions against Ireland, 409
Turner, Right Rev. Dr. Sharon, i., 102, 143
Tyrawley, Lord, ii. 85, 328
Tyrone, Lord, ii. 127
Tyrrell, Captain, to Captain Cotes, concerning the Irish prisoners of war in France, i. 251

Ulster, plan for a University at, ii. 64, 349, 364, 381, *et seq.*—tranquillity of, 432—general Presbyterian Synod of, 163, 165, 166—connection between Synod of, and Government, 172, 421—grant of money to Synod of, 388, 389, 393
Uniacke, Brigade Major, his contempt of the Court of King's Bench, iii. 396, 397, *et seq.*
Union, the Legislative, between Great Britain and Ireland, proposed, i. 153—opinion in Ireland respecting, 343—meeting of Irish Bar concerning, *ib.*—alluded to, 345—the King and his cabinet determined to propose, 376—leading features of, 378—sentiments of ministers respecting, 404, 412—alluded to, 426, 431—sentiments of Catholics and Protestants respecting, 432—paper on the absolute necessity of, 436—advantages of, 439, 440—articles of, directed to be made known in Ireland, 448—the intention of ministers respecting, ii, 8—possible abandonment of, 9—state of public feeling and opinion on the, 16, 17, 18, 26, 27, 240, 399, 400—proposed articles of the, 19, 53—opinions of influential persons on the, 24, 25, 26; iii. 396—state of parties regarding the, ii. 34—meeting of Irish Bar respecting, 37—opposition to, in Dublin, 41, 50, 52—arguments urged against, 43—ferment caused by proposition of the, 44, 45, 56—resolutions of Dublin citizens against, 48—observations on, 50, 56—proposed mode of bringing forward in Parliament, 58—opinion of Catholics upon, 61; iii. 86—project of, announced in Parliament, ii. 72—debates upon, in the Irish Parliament, 74, 130; iii. 213—opposed by the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, ii. 74—efforts of Government in favour of, *ib.*—plans of the opposition against, and assassination of supporters of, proposed, 76—opposed by the Catholics, 78—clamour against, 79—disposition towards, in different parts of Ireland, 79, 80, 81, 146, 367, 373; iii. 224—unfavourable impressions regarding, ii. 90—proposed dismissal of official persons opposed to, 91—disinclination of borough proprietors to, 92—urgent recommendation of, by the Duke of Portland, 106—sentiments of Lord Clanricarde to Lord Castlereagh, respecting, 108—instructions to Lord Cornwallis for the introduction of, to the Parliament, 117—important documents concerning, 126—defeat of Government respecting, 133—the opposition to, *ib.*—means suggested for carrying, *ib.*—instructions of ministers to Lord Cornwallis, on the, 134—determination of Government concerning, 137, 318—causes of failure in the, 142—Parliamentary opposition to, 145—result of deliberations on, 154—removal from office of persons opposed to, 156—Parliamentary tactics of opposers of, 170—the Duke of Portland's instructions to Lord Cornwallis, regarding, 201—compensation to persons whose interests would suffer by, 202—speech of Lord Cornwallis to the Irish Parliament on the, 298—protest against opponents of, 309—formidable opposition to, *ib.*—sentiments of individuals and the public regarding, 337, *et seq.*—Stephen Moore, Esq., and the Marquess of Abercorn, to Lord Castlereagh, on the, 343—declaration and converts in favour of, 345—address from Catholics in favour of, 347—prediction of the consequences of, by Lord de Clifford, 356—delay of conferences upon, 392—question of, considered with reference to religious sects in Ireland, 438—declarations respecting, iii. 18—on employment of writers in favour of, 26—outlines of the, 27—remarks in reference to, 31—suggestions for, 35—general principles of the, 41—notes in favour of, 54—remarks on the Parliamentary resolutions affecting, 69—considered as affecting the Catholics, 104—advocates of, insulted by the populace, 211—message in favour of, to the Irish Parliament, *ib.*—articles of, *ib.*—opposed by Lord Downshire, 215—protest of Peers against, *ib.*—proposed address to the King in favour of, 216—debates on, in the British Parliament, *ib.*—address of both Houses in favour of, 218—passing of the Act for, 219—Catholic clergy favourable to, 226—opposition to, in Tipperary, 228—attempt of Lord Downshire to incite the militia to oppose, 230 to 240—impositions practised by opponents of, 242—passing of the first resolution in favour of, by the Irish Parliament, 242—alleged impatience of ministers regarding, 256—petitions and counter-petitions, on the, 261—progress of Bill of, in

Parliament, 284, 286, 299—absurd ideas prevalent in Ireland respecting, 291—fifth article of, relating to the Churches, 294—moving of address to the King on, by Mr. Pitt, 299—acceleration of Act for, 309—proposed new creations of Peers under, and Royal Assent to the, 320—scruples of the King and Cabinet respecting Lord Cornwallis's engagements with supporters of, 322, 324, 326, 330, 333, 334, 335—progress of Acts for, in England and Ireland, 330—arrangements with supporters of, 336, 339, 343, 358, 359—Act for, receives the Royal Assent, 346—proposed rejoicings on the, 352—means of effecting, iv. 479

United Irishmen, societies of the, origin of the, i. 147, 353—Dublin society of, forcibly dissolved, 354—alluded to, 356—fusion of other societies with, 358—conduct of, *ib.*, 359, 360—doctrines of, 366—said to be re-established, ii. 51—correspondence of, with the enemy, 101—organization of, in London, 183—intended arrest of, 184—proposed simultaneous rising of, in Ireland and England, 194—report of secret committee concerning the, 215—arrest of division of, 216—movements of, abroad, 223, *et seq.*—plans of, for a new insurrection, 234—regulations of, 237—supposed list of secretaries to divisions of, 239—insurrection of, in Jamaica, 417

University, proposed new one in Ireland, ii. 64, 302, 349

Valence, General, to M. Jägerhorn, on his mission to England, ii. 252, 253, 260—alluded to, 261

Vallancey, General, to Lord Castlereagh, on the defence of Dublin, i. 179, 190

Velley, Lieutenant-Colonel, ii. 404

Verner, James, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh, on the Union, iii. 18

Vienna, Congress of, explanations of Lord Castlereagh respecting, i. 24—Treaty of, 120—discussions at the Congress of, and Lord Castlereagh's plan for conducting, 128

———, Treaty of, (1800) iii. 360

Volunteers, the Irish, said to be ready to join the rebels, i. 301, 306

Wallace, Mr., iii. 310—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish Cotton Trade, iii. 485

Warnick, Rev. Mr., i. 314

Warren, Sir John Borlase, i. 148; ii. 76, 164

Waterford, Marquess of, ii. 346—to Lord Castlereagh, on the manifest intention of the lower classes to murder the supporters of the Union, 394—alluded to, iii. 369

Wellesley, the Marquess, letters from, to the Marquess of Londonderry, on the public services of Lord Castlereagh, i. 98, 99—urged by Lord Castlereagh to retain the Governor-Generalship of India, 114—to the Marquess of Londonderry, on his letter to Lord Brougham, 131

Wellington, Duke of, appointed to command in the Peninsula, i. 19, 20, 21, 118—to Lord Stewart, 68—his official connection with Lord Castlereagh, 118—attempted assassination of, at Paris, 137

West India Islands, the, state of, in 1800, iii. 342

Westmorland, Earl of, succeeds the Marquess of Buckingham, i. 9, 158

Wetherell, Sir Charles, to the Marquess of Londonderry, stating Lord Eldon's opinion of Lord Castlereagh, i. 134

Whealey, Mr., attacked by the rebels under Father Murphy, ii. 232—escape of, 233

Whitbread, Mr., expresses his confidence in Lord Castlereagh, i. 110

White, Mr., contracts for the Irish loan, ii. 314—alluded to, 346

Wickham, Mr., Under-Secretary to the Duke of Portland, to Lord Castlereagh, with enclosures, i. 177, 204, 317—on reinforcements for Ireland, 215—on certain rebels, apprehended, 216—announces the escape of a rebel, 228—on certain papers to be laid before the Secret Committee, 236—refers to Dr. M'Nevin's memorial, *ib.*—gives information relative to certain French officers about to proceed to Ireland, 237—on Irish prisoners of war in France, 250—on exceptions to the Bill of Pardon, 252—on a new Royalist newspaper, and the Brothers Sheares, 257—on the confession of the State prisoners, 259, 262—on the defeat of Buonaparte, with enclosures, 265—announces the sailing of part of the enemy's fleet, 270—on the nature of the Bill of Pardon, 312—to Edward Cooke, Esq., on the Bill of Pardon, &c., 315—on the confession of the State prisoners, 316—communicates intelligence from Dunkirk, and enclosures, 318—on the landing of the French in Ireland, and on the battle of Aboukir, 323—on reinforcements for Ireland, and an advertisement published by the State prisoners, 327—to Edward Cooke, Esq., relative to suspected persons, on the movements of the French, and on the victory of Lord Nelson, 331—respecting Lord Bridport, and the enemy's fleet, 334—on the declaration of John Jamieson, 338—communicates intelligence from Brest, &c., 341—on the invasion of Ireland, 372—gives intelligence of the sailing of a French fleet, 373—on information from Holland, 374—on the erasure of the names of Grattan and Fox from the list of privy councillors, 382—on the invasion of Ireland, proclamations of General Humbert, *ib.*—on the escape of a French fleet, 392—encloses a letter from Dr. Birch, on behalf of his son, *ib.*—on the refusal of America to receive rebels transported from Ireland, 394—to Mr. Cooke, enclosing information respecting several insurgents, 397—to Lord Castlereagh, on the proceedings of certain rebels, 399—gives information respecting Tandy and other insurgents, 405—on the invasion of Ireland by the Anacreon, 409—on the capture of Dutch frigates, &c., 416, 427—on rebel leaders, 430—encloses a treasonable letter from Theobald Wolfe Tone, 434—on the escape of a rebel named Doyle, 444—on secret intelligence from France, 451—to Lord Castlereagh, respecting fugitive rebels, &c., ii., 15—on remittances of money, 82—on the release of State prisoners, 86—states the impressions of the French as to the invasion of Ireland, 93—on preparations in French ports, 100, 101—announces the seizure of treasonable correspondence, 102—communicates information respecting the fleet in the Texel, 129—on arms and ammunitions destined for Ireland, 132—explains a speech of Mr. Pitt, 154—encloses secret intelligence from France, 161—communicates news of the Dutch fleet, 175—on dispensations to Fellows of Trinity College, 177—encloses communications relative to the hostile fleets, 178—on Mr. Aylmer, a former rebel, 182—on the opposition to the Insurrection Act Amendment Bill, and on the arrest of conspirators, &c., 183—on information of arms concealed in Ireland, 185—on the preparations of the French for a new invasion of Ireland, 193—on the advance of money to the Irish Government, 195—on the Suppression of Rebellion Bill, 197—on the enemy's movements in the Texel, 198—on rebellious proceedings at Cork, 199—encloses secret information relative to the Dutch, 200—communicates secret intelligence of movements at Brest and St. Maloes, 206; and in Holland, 210—on the sailing of a French fleet from Bordeaux, 211—on the movements in the Texel, 212—on the enlistment of Irish rebels for the Prussian service, 215—on the report of Secret Committee on treasonable societies, *ib.*—secret information from Brest, communicated by, 217—on the movements of the enemy, and of United Irishmen abroad, 223—gives description of B. M'Kinley, a rebel, 235—on the transmission of State prisoners to Scotland, *ib.*—on the regulations of United Irish, 237—on the treatment of State prisoners, 248—on the operations of the Austrian and French armies, 249—gives information of a projected descent of the French in Ireland, ii. 265—on the movements at Brest, 266—on the recruits selected in Ireland for the Prussian service, 292—on the regulation of the Irish paper currency, 293—on recruits for the Prussian service, 300—on the destination of the enemy's fleet, *ib.*—on the French and Spanish fleets, 301—on the regulations for the Provisional Government of Ireland, 307—on the force in the Texel, 311—on certain Irish prisoners on board H. M. ship "Acteon," 323—to Lord Camden, on the state of the Continent, iii. 259—despatch from, 299—to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish Militia, iv. 235, 241, 244, 246

Wicklow, ravaged by the rebels, i. 149

Wilberforce, Mr., his opinion of Lord Castlereagh, i. 108—alluded to, iii. 263; iv. 31, 53

Wilson, Christian, Esq., declaration implicating the Catholics, taken by, ii. 418, *et seq.*

Winchester, Bishop of, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on relations with the See of Rome, ii. 363

Windham, Mr., i. 427; iii. 350

Wolfe, Colonel, ii. 127—proposed removal of, from office, 318—alluded to, iii. 274

Wollaghan, Hugh, court martial on, 413—sensation caused by, 422

Wolley, Captain, ii. 100

Woollen duties, regulations of the, under the Union, iii. 263, 264, 274, 276, 277, 279, 280, 283, 292, 295, 299

Wright, Mr., outrage committed on by the High Sheriff of the county, ii. 280

Wycombe, Lord, i. 275

Wynne, Mr., iii. 278

———, Sir W. Williams, i. 206; iii. 295

Yelverton, Lord, approves the project of a Union, ii. 25—alluded to, iii. 373

Yeomanry, the Irish, proposed regulations for, ii. 63—alluded to, 80—available as a police only, in case of invasion, iii. 377

York, Duke of, i. 160, 377—to Lord Camden, with enclosure, respecting the meritorious conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, in Ireland, ii. 105—his sentiments towards that officer, 112—commands the forces destined for the deliverance of Holland, 393

York, the Cardinal of, appealed to by Irish students at Rome, ii. 189—on a provision granted to by George III., 332, *n.* 385—letter from Cardinal Borgia, respecting, iii. 13—plundered by the French, 14, 16—recommendation of, disregarded by the Pope, 82—alleged conspiracy in favour of, 126, 385—property of, destroyed, *ib.*—on National Colleges at Rome, 413—alluded to, iv. 22

Yorke, Right Hon. Charles, to Lord Castlereagh, on the Governor-Generalship of India, iv. 232

——, Mr. Henry, i. 257

Zelada, Cardinal, Secretary to the Pope, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on the protection afforded to Rome by England, and on the Irish Rebellion, iii, 93, 96—to Lord Grenville, respecting the supply of provisions to the English fleet, &c., 97, 98—to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on the same subject, 99, 102

THE END.

ERRATA.

Vol. ii., p. 329, line 14, for "Moon" read "Moore."
—— ii., p. 346, line 5, for "town contractor" read "loan contractor."
—— ii., p. 409, line 13, for "Burke" read "Bushe."
—— ii., p. 417, line 8, for "Stenny, at Strafton," read "Henry, of Straffan."
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